

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick**

**Permanent WRAP URL:**

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/80226>

**Copyright and reuse:**

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.

Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: [wrap@warwick.ac.uk](mailto:wrap@warwick.ac.uk)

**The Making of a Creative City –  
Urban Cultural Policy and Politics in the  
Digital Media City (DMC) Seoul**

by

Junmin Song

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Cultural Policy Studies

University of Warwick, Centre for Cultural Policy Studies  
September 2015

## **Abstract**

This thesis crosses the research fields of cultural policy and urban design, and examines the policies and political contexts of a new globally significant experiment in creative city development: the Seoul Digital Media City (DMC). The DMC is a newly built urban district, intentionally structured as a creative cluster. This research investigation opens by considering the concept of 'creativity', and the way it has recently animated national policies for urban, economic, as well as cultural, development. Throughout this thesis, the ever-present conundrum of 'East-West' cultural interchange persists, and the thesis attends to the challenges for research in understanding how major Western policy trends (like 'creative city' and 'creative cluster') are received, adapted and implemented, all the while subject to the specific requirements of national Asian policy aspirations.

The thesis traces the developmental trajectory of the DMC project, and in the context of explaining its rationale, it conveys the various ways in which the DMC articulates a confluence of political ideals. It presents the main discursive influences of the Creative City trend on South Korea and particularly the municipal government of its capital, Seoul. It explains the political and economic contexts on which Creative City discourse has gained traction, along with the significance of the subsequent 'Korean Wave'

phenomenon.

Largely from an engagement with the literature of the creative city discourse, this thesis articulates fresh criteria for an empirical analysis of the DMC, suitably contextualized by observations on the local contexts of Seoul city urban development and planning. These criteria are used in a case analysis examination of the DMC, which in turn generate further discussion on the implications for adapting Western Creative City policies. The central dimension of the case analysis concerns the assessment of the 'creative' content of the DMC, and the terms by which we can define the DMC as creative. The case analysis, however, demonstrates that 'creativity' in the DMC is both compromised and fraught with conceptual paradoxes, particularly with regard the issues of authenticity and identity. Nonetheless, the thesis suggests ways in which a substantive role for arts and culture could provide pathways for development.

# Table of Contents

ABSTRACT .....	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	4
LIST OF TABLES .....	7
LIST OF FIGURES .....	8
LIST OF ACRONYMS .....	10
PREFACE .....	12
 <b>Chapter 1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>19</b>
1.1 Research Background .....	19
1.2 Research Questions, Aims and Objectives of this Thesis.....	31
1.3 The Research Scope of the Thesis.....	35
1.4 Research Methodology .....	39
1.5 Structure of the Thesis.....	44
1.6 The DMC: Elementary Description and Introduction.....	47
 <b>Chapter 2. Creativity and Urban Place .....</b>	<b>70</b>
2.1 Creativity and Urban Place in the West and East .....	70
2.1.1 Creativity and Urban Place in the Socio-cultural Economic Triangle .....	71
2.1.2 Creativity and East Asian Urban Place.....	78
2.1.3 Creativity and Korean Urban Place: the Emergence of the DMC .	87
2.2 Urban Cultural Policy and the Creative City.....	94
2.2.1 Theoretical background of the Creative City.....	95
2.2.2 A Critical View: Policy and Political sphere of the Creative City ...	99
2.2.3 The Creative City vs. Smart City .....	104
2.3 Creative Urban Environment: Creative Cluster and Creative Milieu .	106
2.3.1 Creative Cluster vs. Creative Milieu .....	107
2.3.2 Creative Cluster.....	108
2.3.3 Creative Milieu.....	111
Conclusion.....	115
 <b>Chapter 3. Seoul's Urban Cultural Policies and Creative Placemaking .....</b>	<b>116</b>
3.1 CCIs and Government Cultural Policy since 1960 in South Korea ...	117
3.2 'Cultureconomics' as the Foundation of Creative City Strategy in Seoul .....	123

3.3 Implementation and Modification of Seoul's Creative City Strategy..	127
3.4 Rhetoric of Seoul's Creative City Strategy .....	139
Conclusion .....	145
 <b>Chapter 4. South Korean Identity, Creative Worker and the Creative 'Cluster-Scape' in Seoul .....</b>	<b>147</b>
4.1 Korean Wave, DMC and South Korean Identity.....	148
4.1.1 Popularity of Korean Wave under the influence of Western Culture .....	148
4.1.2 The Korean Wave, DMC and Cultural Identity.....	156
4.2 Creative Workers, Policy Intervention and the Creative 'Cluster-Scape' in Seoul.....	160
4.2.1 Creative Class Theory in the Korean Context .....	161
4.2.2 State Intervention and the Creative Cluster-Scape in Seoul .....	165
4.2.3 Creative workers, Gentrification, Creative cluster-scape in Seoul .....	172
Conclusion.....	180
 <b>Chapter 5. Case Analysis Method and Methodology .....</b>	<b>179</b>
5.1 Literature Review: Mapping Criteria for Analysis of the DMC as a Creative Urban Place.....	182
5.1.1 Criterion for analysing case analysis location, DMC.....	188
5.1.2 Final observations .....	211
5.2 Research Philosophies .....	214
5.2.1 Research Strategy.....	214
5.3 Research Methods.....	216
5.3.1 Justification and Limitations of Case Locations .....	216
5.3.2 Data Collection .....	219
5.3.3 Conducting the Case Study.....	222
5.3.4 Fieldwork.....	223
5.3.5 Interviews and Survey .....	225
5.3.6 Observations .....	228
5.4 Advantages and Limitations of the Methodology .....	230
 <b>Chapter 6. The Seoul DMC: analysing creative urban place I: policy, planning and creative urbanity .....</b>	<b>234</b>
6.1 Policy and Management .....	235

6.1.1 Policy Strategy in the Development Process of DMC: Top-Down Approach.....	235
6.1.2 Implementation and Outcome of Top-Down Policy Strategy .....	248
6.1.3 The Bottom-Up Approach in the Korean (DMC) Context.....	255
6.2 Creative Workers .....	261
6.2.1 Attracting Creative Workers (Clustering Processes of M&E and IT Industries) .....	261
6.2.2 Elements of the Creative Milieu: Interaction and Infrastructure (Hard).....	268
6.2.3 Locational Preferences.....	278
Conclusion .....	285
<b>Chapter 7. The Seoul DMC: analysing creative urban place II: the built environment and creative life .....</b>	<b>288</b>
7.1 Placemaking in DMC: Built Form .....	288
7.1.1 Diversity vs. Authenticity of Built Form .....	288
7.1.2 Creating Public Places in DMC .....	297
7.2 Arts and Culture for Creative Placemaking .....	310
7.2.1 Representative Cultural Activity: SeDCO: Before the Completion of MBC Broadcasting Company .....	310
7.2.2 Vitality and Authenticity: After the Completion of MBC Broadcasting Company).....	318
Conclusion .....	336
<b>Chapter 8. Discussion and Critical Considerations.....</b>	<b>338</b>
8.1 National Policies of Self-determination and the Global Trend Towards Creative Urban Place.....	339
8.2 Korean Culture.....	345
8.3 Economic Appropriation of Space and the Creation of Place .....	354
8.4 Arts/Culture and Business .....	360
Conclusion.....	367
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>369</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>389</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 The Framework for the Case Analysis .....	43
Table 2.1 Brief Historical Timeline of the DMC Development and Promotion .....	94
Table 2.2 Conceptualising Urban Place .....	114
Table 4.1 <i>Chaebols</i> and their shares within the Korean GDP .....	177
Table 5.1 Attempts to Systematise Dynamics of Creative City .....	186
Table 5.2 City Rankings Related to the Built Environment .....	199
Table 5.3 Methodological Analysis Framework for the Seoul DMC .....	214
Table 5.4 Justification for the Selection of Seoul Digital Media City as a Case Analysis .....	219
Table 5.5 The Framework for the Case Analysis .....	221
Table 5.6 Summary of Data Collection for Interviews and Written Interview (survey) .....	228
Table 5.7 Advantages and Disadvantages in Conducting a Case Analysis in My Home Country .....	233
Table 6.1 Development Planning by the Stages .....	239
Table 6.2 The DMC Cluster Status of the Network Cooperation System...	271
Table 6.3 The Convenient and Inconvenient Factor for Creative Workers in DMC.....	282
Table 7.1 SeDCO Programmes from 2011 to 2013 .....	314



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Research Scope of the Thesis .....	36
Figure 1.2 The Research Methodology .....	39
Figure 1.3 Seoul Digital Media City .....	48
Figure 1.4 The Location of the DMC in the Context of Seoul City.....	52
Figure 1.5 Main Agents Involved in Establishing the DMC Plan .....	54
Figure 1.6 Selected Industries in the DMC .....	56
Figure 1.7 Historical Photos of Nanjido.....	59
Figure 1.8 Location of Five World Cup Parks .....	61
Figure 1.9 The Basic Concept and the Main Framework Axeis of the DMC	62
Figure 1.10 The DMC Block Diagram .....	64
Figure 1.11 The DMC Spatial Arrangement.....	65
Figure 1.12 Cultural Venues and Public Places (Plazas) of the DMC Complex.....	66
Figure 2.1 The Spatial Scope of Sangam Area in Seoul.....	94
Figure 3.1 Institutional framework of ‘Design Seoul Project’ .....	132
Figure 3.2 Design Seoul Project Division.....	133
Figure 3.3 Outcomes of ‘Design Seoul Project’ .....	138
Figure 5.1 Main Approaches to Cultural/creative Territorial Development Dynamics and Strategies .....	185
Figure 5.2 Diagram for Making Creative Urban Place of the DMC.....	213
Figure 5.3 The Structure of the Data Collection .....	222
Figure 6.1 The DMC Green Buffer Zone .....	253
Figure 6.2 Tenant Creative Worker (B) and (C) in DMC .....	268
Figure 6.3 Possible Improvements to the DMC Infrastructure .....	276
Figure 6.4 Level of Satisfaction of Interaction for Creative Worker (A), (C) in DMC.....	279
Figure 6.5 The Most Required Environmental Factor for Stimulating Creativity.....	281
Figure 6.6 Percentage of Satisfaction with DMC as a Creative Milieu for Creative Workers (A), (B), (C).....	284
Figure 6.7 Comparison of the Mechanisms of Creative Environment Building between Florida and the DMC .....	285
Figure 7.1 Change of Colour Scheme of the DMC.....	291
Figure 7.2 Lack of Diversity in Built Environment of the DMC.....	294
Figure 7.3 Authentic Aspect of the DMC Landscape .....	296

Figure 7.4 Favorite Places for both Residents and Workers.....	297
Figure 7.5 Central Public Spaces of the DMC, Centre of the DMC and the DMS.....	298
Figure 7.6 Photo Documenting for Analysing Placemaking of DMC .....	302
Figure 7.7 Photo Documenting for Analysing Placemaking of the DMC ....	303
Figure 7.8 Photo Documenting of Daytime and Evening Uses of Public Places in the DMC .....	305
Figure 7.9 Public Design in the DMC .....	309
Figure 7.10 Diverse Activities for Urban Vibrancy .....	321
Figure 7.11 Public Arts for Urban Vibrancy .....	325
Figure 7.12 Diverse Activities for enhancing Place Identity of M&E Cluster .....	328
Figure 7.13 Diverse Activities relating to historical sense of the DMC .....	330
Figure 7.14 Public Art in the DMC .....	333
Figure 7.15 Location of Representative Public Arts in the DMC .....	334
Figure 8.1 Pseudo-diversity .....	360
Figure 8.2 Media art: Play with the Big Screen by Lee Jun, 2011 .....	366

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

**BT:** Biotechnology  
**CCIs:** Cultural and Creative Industries  
**CCTV:** China Central Television Station  
**CD:** Compact Disk  
**CDTH:** Culture, Design and Tourism Headquarters  
**CEO:** Chief Executive Officer  
**CICs:** Creative Industry Clusters  
**CSI:** Create Smart Initiative  
**DCMS:** Department for Culture, Media and Sport  
**DDP:** Dongdaemun Design Plaza  
**DMB:** Digital Multimedia Broadcasting  
**DMC:** Digital Media City  
**DMS:** Digital Media Street  
**DSP:** Design Seoul Project  
**DVD:** Digital Versatile Disc  
**ERP:** Enterprise Resource Planning  
**FDI:** Foreign Direct Investment  
**GBP:** British Pound  
**GDP:** Gross Domestic Product  
**GNP:** Gross National Product  
**GP:** Generalized Programming  
**HCD:** Hong-dae Cultural District  
**ICSID:** International Council of Societies of Industrial Design  
**ICT:** Information and communications technology  
**IMF:** International Monetary Fund  
**IP:** Intelligent Peripheral  
**IT:** Information Technology  
**KCC:** Korea Copyright Commission  
**KCTI:** Korea Culture and Tourism Institute  
**KECC:** Korea Engineering Consultants Corporation  
**KNTO:** Korea National Tourism Organisation  
**K-pop:** Korean Pop  
**LED:** Light Emitting Diode  
**M&E:** Media and Entertainment  
**MCT:** Ministry of Culture and Tourism  
**MICA:** Ministry of Information, Communication and the Arts  
**NAC:** National Arts Council  
**NT:** Nanotechnology  
**OECD:** Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
**PPS:** Project for Public Spaces  
**R&D:** Research and Development  
**SBA:** Seoul Business Agency  
**SDF:** Seoul Design Foundation  
**SDH:** Seoul Design Headquarter  
**SDO:** Seoul Design Olympiad

**SeDCO:** Seoul Digital Culture Open Festival

**SI:** Seoul Institute

**SMG:** Seoul Metropolitan Government

**UN:** United Nations

**UNCTAD:** United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

**UNESCO:** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

**USD:** United States dollar

**WDC:** World Design Capital

## **Preface**

Subsequent to practicing as an artist following my BA in Fine Arts degree at Ewha Womans University in South Korea, I have maintained a significant interest in art and creativity and their application as a force for human change. I enrolled on the MA in Creative and Media Enterprises at the University of Warwick for this reason. It was during my master's degree that I began to discover the increasingly significant policy-related and economic applications of art and culture (as well as the rhetoric of creativity) within the studies of urban policy, the development of cities, particularly competitive and so-called 'global' cities. I discovered the significance of 'place' and how our conceptions and experience of culture, to a significant degree, emerge from and are invested in the places that we reside or live. This line of thought inspired me to pursue a broader PhD study, and to develop an expertise in place-based creativity and in the policies, political rhetoric, and creative practices that have emerged from growing global phenomenon of making creative city.

I commenced my PhD studies in 2009. Since then, the world has witnessed the rise of South Korea as a major producer of cultural products, primarily through the so-called 'Korean Wave' cultural phenomenon that has amassed

huge popularity and influence across Asia. The South Korean government has promoted various forms of cultural production and devised policies and strategic financial frameworks for the economic development of the creative industries, as a so-called 'driver' for economic growth. Subsequently, the government has also implemented a range of policies and plans that integrate the development of creative industries with the urban development of the city of Seoul and its outer districts. Moreover, they have stimulated the growth of a range of professional fields, including architecture, urban design and urban planning, of which my principal subject, the DMC, is a central example.

The DMC planning framework was generally inspired by the Western concept of the 'creative cluster' (even though, obviously, 'clustering' is a general social phenomenon that can be applied to all forms of human organisation, from traditional markets to housing). Since South Korea's last major economic recession (which exploded in 1997), political attention turned towards economic growth trends in the West, where the rhetoric of creativity featured large particularly under the New Labour Government (1997-2010) in the UK. The South Korean government, following an IMF evaluation and a series of loans in 1997, openly admitted the limitations of its economy and workforce, and this new tendency for self-scrutiny was initially undertaken through applying Western notions of creative economy and creative industries. While this was evidently beneficial in stimulating new forms of thought and policy innovations, along with a renewed public sphere of debate

on national cultural life and a new intellectual investment in urban regeneration (e.g. liberalized laws for urban planning, new architectural commissions, and a new interest in design), it remains a central question for this thesis as to how far South Korea has developed from the initial Western (and UK) frameworks it initially adopted. There are many recent Korean policy evaluation frameworks and policy innovations that, while using benchmarking mechanisms against Western policies, have nonetheless attempted a renewed appreciation of local urban history and socio-economic and cultural contexts, along with the needs of the social populace of a place. This thesis examines this new tendency as it has been manifest in the DMC.

The concept of creativity and the policy rhetoric that has generated from the concept has been maintained when systematically applied to the planning and implementation of the DMC project. It is also being applied across the board to many other new urban development and urban space projects outside Seoul in South Korea. However, while a new interest in place-based factors and local economies has been tempered with the use of generic Western terms, there remains an issue with the very concept of creativity itself, and how it generates unsustainable assumptions or ideological bias when deployed in an Asian context. This thesis, therefore, does not simply attend to the new policies of creativity and culture that have been deployed in urban development planning frameworks. The thesis is also concerned with the concept of creativity and the rhetorical function of the term when deployed within policy frameworks and their intended application. Primary

issues explored here in a Korean context are the philosophical distinctions between Western and Eastern discourses, and the traditions of thought on artistic culture or creativity.

Through conducting a conceptual analysis, a review of the political background, policy and planning frameworks, and then an observation and analysis of the DMC city district, this thesis attempts an integrated approach, combining historical, political, socio-economical, cultural, and visual phenomena. The thesis attempts to make a unique contribution to the understanding of the DMC, given how this huge urban development phenomenon has not been studied extensively within an interdisciplinary cultural policy studies framework before. My principal audience for this research is therefore the government officials, researchers (both in academia and in umbrella organisations of governments), urban planners, urban (property) developers, as well as artists and designers, and anyone who has an invested interest in the use of creativity, art and culture amidst the new waves of policy innovations, in the building of the DMC, and in the general re-shaping of the national trends in urban environment in South Korea.

Given that 'culture' is complex concept and has multiple definitions, it is anticipated that 'cultural policy' can be identified from a broad spectrum of perspectives from sociology, cultural studies to urban planning and economics. Approaches to the study of cultural policy adopted in this thesis to address the issue of 'making the creative city' are demonstrated with



several compatible approaches to the subject based in cultural-creative industries, cultural planning, urban public policy, public place and culture and urban design/placemaking.

There are already doctoral theses examining this interdisciplinary positioning between cultural policy and urban design/planning, such as Durmaz's (2012) *Creative Clusters and Place-Making: Analysing the Quality of Place in Soho and Beyoglu*, Yang's (2006) thesis, *Waterfronts: Spatial Composition and Cultural Use*, focused on urban design, expanding its scope towards cultural studies. In South Korea, there also have been numerous papers written on the creative city discourse, such as *A Study on the City Competitiveness Mechanism of a Creative City* (Kim, 2013) and *A Study on Distribution Characteristic Considering the Index of Creative City in Metropolitan Area* (Kim et al., 2012).

Among many scholars in these fields, I have been particularly influenced by Jane Jacobs, a writer and urban activist profoundly influential on city planning today. My personal experience of growing up and living in the city of Seoul has sparked my interest in her work. I gained an entry point of interest towards her work by questioning how and why Seoul constantly demolishes old buildings or even entire neighbourhoods in order to construct new ones. After South Korea succeeds in rapid industrialisation and modernisation since the 1960s, Seoul has been seized by car-based projects rather than place-based or people-centred projects. This reduces the opportunity for

face-to-face interaction in the everyday lives of the citizens of Seoul; the city feels 'unlived'. Meanwhile, Jacobs' work *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) helped me to understand the city as an urban 'ecosystem' rather than just as a product of established conventions of city planning. Cities are the accumulation of real-life, stories full of unpredictability and inconsistency. This understanding of cities as being "organic, spontaneous, and untidy," which Jacobs advocates, can be the catalyst for the building of more diverse, vital, and creative cities.

In this thesis, there are fewer research citations in the case analysis section (Chapters Six and Seven), since the case analysis adopted ethnography as a research strategy, in particular, participant observation, which is the primary method applied by anthropologists in their fieldwork (DeMunck and Sobo, 1998). By exposing myself to the day-to-day activities in the researcher setting, I, as an observer, participated actively and was also accepted as a member of the target community. Thus, the analysis was based upon my own empirical experience. In terms of explaining the main policies and master plan of the DMC, source materials written in Korean languages, such as the *DMC Implementation Strategies* (2002) and *DMC Report* (2001) are translated into English for this thesis. These are unpublished documents I attained from Professor Byeon Changheum one of the DMC planners, in person. Other source materials related to urban cultural policies of Seoul (Chapters Three and Four) were also written in Korean. Apart from these, the theoretical sources used in the literature

review are mainly written in English.

# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1 Research Background

It is commonplace for scholars to observe how, during the twentieth century, the world's major cities have witnessed a huge shift in demographics, urban infrastructure, housing, technology, and culture. The fundamental reason for this change is often defined in terms of the transformation of national economies from those based on 'heavy industry' to economies of knowledge, science and technology - into 'knowledge-based' economies<sup>1</sup>. Historically, this structural change seems to echo the previous shift in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries from agriculture-based economies to industrial-based economies: in both, human intelligence, knowledge and innovation can be understood to be the central driver of change. However, the era of the 'knowledge-based' economy seems to have generated a unique characteristic: 'creativity'. Arguably, the era of the 'knowledge-based' economy has celebrated human creativity as never before, and has witnessed forms of thought, ideation,

---

<sup>1</sup> The terms 'knowledge economy' (e.g. Cooke and Piccaluga, 2006) is often referred to in alternative forms, such as 'new economy' (Beyers, 2002), the 'creative economy' (e.g. Franke and Verhagen, 2005), 'cognitive capitalism' (e.g. Moulner, Boutang, 2011), 'cognitive-cultural capitalism' (e.g. Scott, 2008), etc.

exploration and experimentation that previously characterized the realms of arts and culture. However, this thesis does not hold, defend, or rest upon any one variant of the 'knowledge-based economy' thesis, made popular around the world by (among others) American economist Richard Florida. Rather, this thesis attempts to engage with the ideas, theories and general notions of change as have been influential in East Asia, and whose principal focus is 'creativity'.

It may seem unlikely, but the concept of creativity has been influential in South Korea to the extent that the dimensions of the 'knowledge-economy' that are perceived to involve creativity – media, design, fashion and pop music, and other so-called 'creative industries' – have become a priority of government, and city government, policy. The influence of creative city and creative class ideas has enabled 'creativity' to play a legitimate role in professional disciplines like architecture, urban design, and civil engineering, but has also entailed an ideological absorption of creativity into instrumental macro-economic frameworks of value, productivity and growth.

A second relevant item of common knowledge is that currently (as UN bodies like UN-Habitat, UNCTAD and UNDP routinely point out) over half of the world's population dwell in urban areas, and urbanisation is intrinsic to the processes we identify with 'globalisation'. Global urbanisation keeps increasing and assumes historically unprecedented patterns of development, scale, and affects not only mega-agglomerations, but mid-sized cities and

the geo-economics of these regions (World Economic Forum, 2014). According to the 2014 revision of *World Urbanisation Prospects (2014) published by the UN*, 30 percent of the world's population lived in urban areas in 1950; by 2050, this number will increase to 66 percent, which totals 6.3 billion city dwellers. During this time of rapid urbanisation, the infrastructural, social and political complexion of the world's major cities, becomes critical to the progress of global development. Cities are now seen as central conduits for migrations and diasporas, the destination of global tourism, the circuit of global mega-events (like the World Cup or Olympic Games), the site of global trading partnerships and transactions; and the political activity that follows from their status as the fulcrum of the world's intensifying economic hubs (Sassen, 2000). They are now routinely charged with playing a central role in national growth strategies, competitiveness and national prestige. The 'city' is now a central category of both economic, industrial and public policies all over the world, as political leaders seek ways to attain higher levels of both visitor numbers as they do indigenous prosperity (World Economic Forum, 2014).

The increasing centrality of 'creativity' as a factor in the development of the twentieth-century 'knowledge-economy' penetrated urban policy, design and development discourses, on both an academic as well as a policy-making level. There are many viewpoints on the precise nature of this historical development, with Allen J. Scott pointing to how cities were progressively politically positioned as economic drivers to the extent that politics itself

became subject to the new dynamics of economic competitiveness in the global markets from the 1980s (Scott, 2014).

The emergence of creativity in urban discourses became most explicit in the range of cultural policies now termed 'Creative City' (a term seemingly invented by Charles Landry in the 1980s, influenced by Jane Jacob's work in the 1960s – this will be clarified later). However, where creativity has become a popular policy term, it has also become confused and is often conflated with 'innovation', and to some extent translated into the more technologically-inclined discourses of 'smart city', 'intellectual city', and 'media city'. In this thesis, I do not trace the various tributaries and strands of discourse, or identify how the 'creative' as a concept has mutated over the last few decades: my concern is to disentangle the major themes, theories and policy ideas that animate the Creative City movement as perceived by the city of Seoul [RQ2.a], and wherein the 'Creative City' movement cannot be categorically separated from the confluence of other ideas, theories and discourses involving the so-called 'new economy', cultural economy, creative economy, high-tech economy, notions on human capital and a putative 'creative class', new urban cultural policy, new trends in urban planning and design (particularly the placemaking tradition), as well as new global trends in urban design and architecture itself (e.g. Bontje et al., 2011; Cohendet et al., 2010; Comunian, 2011; Costa et al., 2008; Cunningham, 2012; Evans, 2009; Greffe, 2011; Grodach, 2012; Kagan and Hahn, 2011; Kong and O'Connor, 2010; Krätke, 2011; McCann, 2007; Ponzini and Rossi, 2010;

Pratt, 2008; Vivant, 2009, cited in Scott, 2014).

Within the creative city discourse – (and for the purposes of this investigation I will refer to it as a distinct and coherent ‘discourse’) – the term ‘creative’ has become embedded in broad political aspirations that emerge from the recognition of the nature of economic value in the knowledge-economy (see Karvounis, 2010). It is important to note that where Landry (2000), conceptualised the notion of the creative city in a way that celebrates the activities and institutions of public culture (arts and cultural creativity) as they gained a certain recognition by contemporary urban economic policy, Florida positioned creativity as an intellectual facility “powering the great ongoing changes of our time” (2002: 21). The difference is significant – creativity for Florida is, at its most elemental, a thought process, which can be turned to the task of directly satisfying economic and political expectations for new ideas and solutions required for industrial competitiveness and thus growth. For Florida, a creative city demands goods and services that possess a cultural dimension, is actually a by-product of, a certain accumulation of a skilled labour force (frequently referred to as the ‘creative class’) in a certain location (where new enterprises find it beneficial to cluster), whose leisure interests generate intensified social interaction, but who principally function as the (provisional) occupants of a range of firms whose principal aim is to develop into something of international stature and become globally mobile. (see Florida, 2002; 2005; Landry, 2000).<sup>2</sup> Florida’s classification of the

---

<sup>2</sup> The terms ‘creative class’ and ‘cultural/creative industries’ will be explained in Chapter Two.



‘creative class’ as a momentous new social class and essential to successful forms of contemporary capitalism was highly influential in Asia.

This is evident in Asian policy circles, in cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok, and Seoul. The concept of ‘creativity’ is frequently used, and governments and policy makers are obligated to demonstrate their creative accomplishments (Keane, 2009; Kong and O’Connor, 2009; Leo and Lee, 2004; Shahid and Kaoru, 2006). However, the use of the term creativity indicates a complexity of semantic and hermeneutic issues, where Western and Eastern beliefs, values and aspirations become inseparable. My research investigation will only seek to untangle the issue of ‘Western and Eastern’ for the purposes of understanding actual policy frameworks in the city of Seoul. However, like other Asian cities, Seoul inherited (from the Second World War, and the post-War period) a whole range of Western economic, social and urban policy (particularly American) norms, practices and standards, whereby parts of Seoul (like Shanghai or Tokyo) could be mistaken for the USA. Policies, institutions, professional and disciplinary practices (like urban planning and architecture) have constructed an urban environment that resonates with historical precedents from the USA and Europe – we must assume, therefore, that Western urban and cultural planning frameworks were endemic to the post-War modernisation and industrialisation of many Asian countries to begin with (see Kong and O’Connor, 2009), and the new models and concepts of creative city policy, are not entirely inappropriate. This thesis does not argue, therefore, that the

creative city represents a new form of economic colonialism, or 'globalisation as Americanisation', or the imposition of Western capitalism on East Asia. The situation is more complex.

This thesis will equally not rehearse official narratives of South Korea's constitutional establishment after the Second World War: its post-War economic reconstruction, the rule of the military generals, the democracy movements of the 1970s and 1980s, the 'Asian tiger' and economic 'miracle' of Korean manufacturing and technology, and today, as the parent of some of the world's most successful corporations (Samsung, Hyundai-Kia, LG, and so on). The emergence of the 'creative' in Seoul is bound up with intensive forms of transformation in social, economic, political and technological systems, to some extent visible throughout East Asia (as the region of the 'tiger economies'), but exacerbated in South Korea, a ruthlessly competitive country. South Korea is East Asia's highest ranking developed country (Human Development Index: UNDP, 2014). Its inhabitants enjoy Asia's highest median per-capita income and average wage; it achieves similarly high ranking in education, healthcare and business investment. It is featured as the world's most innovative country in the Bloomberg Innovation Index, and is known globally as one of the world's most research and development intensive countries.

Seoul, which has been the capital of Korea for 600 years, is recognised as the centre of this national achievement, and a global centre of pioneering

technological innovation. In 2007, the yearbook of World Electronics Data ranked Korea's digital media electronics industry fourth in the world by production volume, after China, the US, and Japan. In terms of the percentage of global production, Korea has risen from 4.7% in 2001 to 7.2% in 2007. Seoul is also famous for having the most pervasive internet delivery systems, and the world's fastest Internet connection speed. Its workforce is one of the most skilled and educated in the world, and not least highly skilled and knowledgeable in the consumption of luxury, and particularly hi-tech, goods. It is not difficult to understand why the concept of 'knowledge economy' seems like a banal everyday fact in South Korea. An important principle to note in the context of this thesis, concerns the political economy of South Korea – since independence, the 'economy' has been the consistent and central plank of the national political project of self-determination, defense of the realm, and wealth creation. All of South Korea's political values (including its social identity as distinct from North Korea) are invested in 'the economy'. The term 'economy' – analytically speaking, in the context of this thesis investigation – is never once-removed from deep political, social and cultural implications.

The concept of knowledge economy was popularised in 1998, when then President Kim Daejung announced that the future of South Korea would be based on a knowledge-based economy as the driving engine for growth (Suh, 2011). The term 'creativity' has become similarly popular with South Korean government officials, and principally allied to the phrases 'creative class'

(Florida, 2002), and ‘creative economy’ (Howkins, 2001), as well as ‘creative city’ (Landry, 2000). Florida, Howkins and Landry have been a principal influence on policy-making in the knowledge economy, particularly related to the concept of ‘creativity’ in Seoul, but where there is a lack of explicit theoretical justification. This thesis will aim to investigate the possible form that a theoretical justification takes [RQ2.b] – by looking at the policy and practices of Seoul’s authorities and commissioned professionals in constructing a ‘creative city’. Park Geun-hye, the current President of South Korea, referred to the creative economy as a central means of economic growth in her inauguration speech of February, 2013, and has since promoted a strategic measure defined by government policy makers as [translated] ‘Plan for Creative Economy-Measures for Creating an Ecosystem for Creative Economy’ (cf. Asia-Pacific Global Research Group, 2014). President Park clearly acknowledged the value of ‘innovative technology’ in relation to ‘creative ideas’, and articulated three key aims: new forms of employment in new kinds of markets; leadership, with global impact, for the country’s creative economy; and the promotion of creativity throughout society (cf. KOCIS, 2013). In August 2013, President Park’s government further announced long-term plans to encourage ‘creative talent’, which the government regards as one of the most vital factors for the nation’s future growth (Connell, 2013).

These two references together indicate the political level at which ‘creativity’ has become a central term of economic and public policy across South

Korea. My interest in this thesis is to consider the place-based application of the term, specifically within Seoul's internal urban development. However, given the small size of the South Korean peninsula, its history of invasions and mutual hostility with its neighbours, Seoul, like the country itself, is very aware of developments in the region and the geo-politics of its markets. It remains a nation heavily reliant on industrial manufacturing exports, and thus competition is internal to its industrial strategy, and this manifests itself in a city-based competitiveness between Seoul and other East Asian cities, notably Shanghai, Beijing, Shenzhen, Hong Kong, Taipei and Singapore (with Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta on the periphery). Competition will register the levels of internal development (manufacturing output, innovations, consumer spending and so on) in relation to 'external' developments (foreign direct investment [FDI], business tourism, leisure tourism, political influence in the region, and so on). And now, creativity is becoming another instrument for increasing competitiveness – in terms of the branding of the city, creative industry clusters, universities and cultural institutions, new landmark architecture, innovations in mass urbanisation (particularly in preventing what is regarded as American-style 'suburbanisation'), and the planning of new urban centres for a 'mixed economy' that combines residential and commercial use. It is here that we locate the significance of the Seoul Digital Media City (DMC or Seoul DMC, hereafter).

The concept of 'creativity' has become animated by the recognition not only in Seoul but also across Asia that, first, economic growth and prosperity is

necessary to social stability and national cohesion, and second, economic growth in the new global order of competitive knowledge-economies is wrought through government and policy actions that promote rapid and innovative production. It may seem paradoxical, but East Asian countries are united in how they understand the phenomenon of rapid production and change -- as always generated by government and policy, not generated by an unrestrained market. This is a major difference between the West and East, where in the West the concept of 'free market' is embedded with political-theoretical assumptions on the nature of economic growth and production; in East Asia, as a generalisation, 'free' is a political construct, and there is little economic activity without a policy and a political jurisdiction through which it is managed. Western theories of 'the creative' in particular, Florida, Howkins and Landry, are attractive perhaps because they envisage economic growth and change through creativity as being generated by an agency invested with policy-making power. Even Florida, a citizen of free market America, routinely appeals to US city authorities to consider how their policy frameworks construct the conditions for the creative class to take root and coalesce. And all three thinkers recognise how rapid urbanisation presents unprecedented opportunities for a city to become creative. Across Asia, where rapid urbanisation has been considerable, generating so called 'mega-cities', creativity has become subject to standard formulations of creative economy or creative city policies. There is a tendency to see economic growth as precipitated by the right combination of 'prerequisite' elements – a critical mass of creative industries, education and skills training

delivering the right levels of human resource, and urban facilities that provide these both with space for production and habitation. Cities in East Asia commonly use a 'checklist' approach to building a creative economy, with assigned bureaucrats ticking the boxes to generate a Western-style urban environment with East Asian-style patterns of employment, and made distinctive by an obsessive concern with highly publicised events and new forms of architecture by 'star' Western architects (popularly known in the West as 'starchitecture').

Before I set out the precise conceptual articulation of this theses' research questions [RQs], it must be noted that in the light of what has just been stated, all of the thesis RQs are animated by a general interest in what is now a global phenomenon -- the application of the arts and cultural policies to urban planning for the purpose of increased economic competitive advantage. My initial aim in this thesis -- and which still stands -- was to find out, through a critique of Seoul's appropriation of creativity, arts and culture in city planning (for the DMC), *how we can build a truly distinctive, sustainable and genuinely creative urban place.*

An immediate question arises as to the meaning and function of the term 'creative' in this context, notwithstanding its ubiquitous use by popular membership schemes like UNESCO's Creative City Network. Throughout this thesis I inquire as to how the term 'creative' becomes politically useful, significant or even powerful as a rhetorical component of statements by

governments and city officials. Inquiring after this, logically entails a critical interest in the way 'creativity' mediates a complexity of political and economic aspirations within city governance and also in the national political arena. Indeed, early in this thesis I ask (in Chapter Two, specifically 2.1.2 and 2.1.3) how 'creativity' embodies the political power, exercised through policy, to integrate Western theories and ideologies of 'economy' with the specific, politically expansionist, interests of the South Korean government? Furthermore, what becomes of 'indigenous' culture, or the historical roots of national culture, and the locality and local urban environment when positioned within new policy frameworks of creativity and global competitiveness? How in any case can creativity be ascribed to a whole city and not just a cultural sector, or an agglomeration of selected design or communications-based industries? Do Seoul city's 'creative' policies genuinely aspire to, and generate, creative urban environments? If so, what examples of a 'creative urban environment' can we provide? These are all very general questions, and questions that could be asked of any or many cities around the world. These do not form the specific RQs of this thesis. The RQs of this thesis, even where general, are oriented in a specific way to the subject of the Seoul DMC, (albeit where a critical approach to an analysis of the Seoul DMC will involve a consideration of its construction through national and city-specific policy and planning frameworks).

## **1.2 Research Questions, Aims and Objectives of this Thesis**

The general questions above are now made specific as systematic research



questions [RQs], which in substance articulates the academic objectives of this thesis. I order the RQs in terms of dominant and subordinate questions, so as to present a clear order and hierarchy of priority.

The aim of all these RQs is (referring back to the title of this thesis) a critical understanding of the means by which a 'creative' city is built: how does one build a creative city? My response to this large (and abstract) question is by way of a sustained analysis of the DMC, which is the first attempt in the world to construct a 'brand new' creative city (in reality a district of Seoul), and to do so according to explicitly 'creative' policies and plans. My specific analysis of this specific case generates observations, conceptual issues and political dilemmas which, I maintain, are relevant for so-called 'creative cities' globally, and so the many cultural policies that have emerged that pertain to creative city development. My specific questions, therefore, are as follows:

My first category of RQs concern the concept of creative and creative city, along with the cultural policy discourses that generated the concepts as attractive and politically useful concepts in the West.

RQ1. Theoretically, how has the term 'creativity' been used with reference to urban spaces and places (such as cities)? [This is the main subject of Chapter Two].

RQ1.a. What semantic, and other, differences do we need to take into account when using the term 'creativity' in the context of East Asia (that is, what distinctions between West and East must be

observed)?

RQ1.b. With reference to specific Western theoretical trends (in urban cultural policy and related economic theories) how have 'creative urban places' been defined, and its resulting terms applied?

RQ1.c. How has the term 'creative' been used to define and articulate 'economic' policy aims (both national and civic)?

My second category of RQs concerns the circulation, application and significance of the term 'creative' for South Korea. This will allow me to open (and strictly delimit) an investigation into Seoul city policies that involve explicit reference to creativity -- some of which, of course, were the result of a direct response to national government diktat or central political will.

RQ2. What specific policies have been inspired by the creative city movement as articulated in South Korea? [This is addressed in Chapter Two and is the main subject of Chapter Three].

RQ2.a. What key themes, aims and objectives characterise the creative city movement as it is understood and recognised by the city of Seoul?

RQ2.b. On what terms have creative policies for Seoul city become synonymous with (or synchronised with) the city's development policies as a whole?

My third category of RQ will locate and identify the urban dynamics and social dimension of South Korea's 'creative' policies -- and the planning and

design practices they have generated. This category will involve an assessment of the tensions and contradictions between the embedded 'Western' assumptions of creative city policies, and the socio-cultural particularities of local South Korean contexts.

RQ3. On what terms is the Seoul Digital Media City an exemplar of creative city policies? [This question is addressed in Chapter Three, and is the main subject of Chapter Four and Chapter Six].

RQ3.a. On what terms do Seoul city's planning and urban development policies attempt to construct 'creative' urban spaces and places?

RQ3.b How are the policies for creative urban places and spaces (urban design and planning) intrinsically connected with Seoul's policies for 'creative industries' and creative 'workers'?

Finally, this thesis will, through empirical research, identify the specific local and concrete manifestations of creativity policies -- and do so through an examination (visual as well as conceptual) of aspects of, and particular places within, Seoul's DMC. [This is the main subject of Chapter Seven, and features within the extended discussion of Chapter Eight].

RQ4. What specific examples of creativity, arts and culture within the DMC offers us an opportunity to evaluate the success of Seoul city's creative policies?

RQ4.a. What aspects of the DMC's urban landscape articulate the tension between East and West and between the local and the global?

RQ4.b. Is the indigenous, local or 'authentic' Korean culture changed or

reconfigured within the DMC complex?

RQ4.c. Can failures, deficiencies or inadequacies be identified in the DMC -- and their cause?

Of course, many more issues or observations will be made during the course of this thesis, and these four categories of RQ do not fully represent all the thesis content -- not, for example, the extensive discussion on methodology (Chapter Five). The last category of RQ will also generate a short concluding discussion on alternative approaches to the creative policies of the DMC -- potential remedies or critical responses to the way this new creative urban landscape manages the social and aesthetic dimensions of its own output, particularly its streetscapes and public spaces. My comments will intentionally refer to a more general critique of the creative city framework, where a greater understanding of the social dynamics of urban places plays a more visible role in design, planning and cultural commissioning.

### **1.3 The Research Scope of the Thesis**

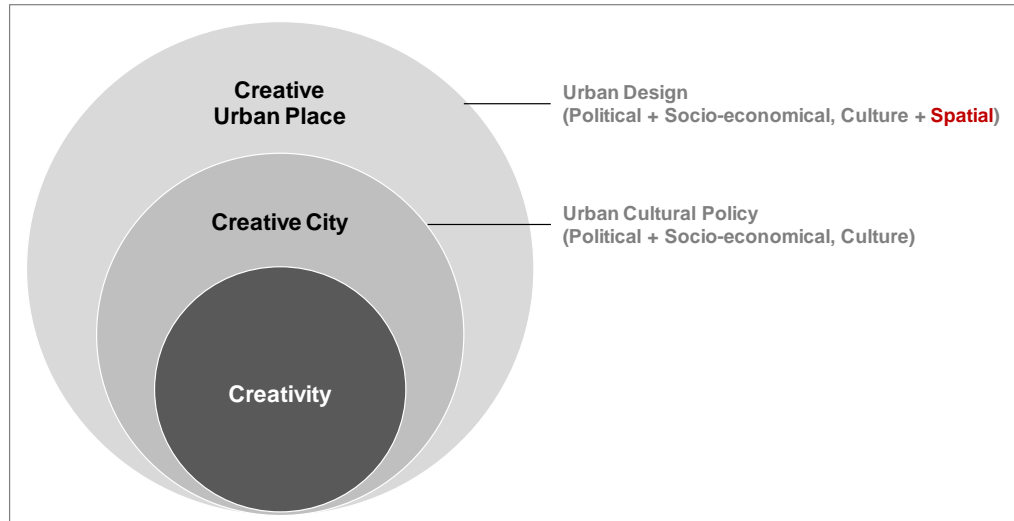


Figure1.1 Research scope of the thesis © Junmin Song, 2014

To achieve the research aims and objectives above, the research scope of this thesis needs to be both clear and appropriate. My general theoretical framework is constructed from sources principally from the fields of urban cultural policy and urban design. More accurately, my theoretical interests are where these field meet – for example, in the creative city discourse, or creative industries research. While ‘urban cultural policy’ as a term has been established by scholars like Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini, among others, there is no term by which we can indicate a recognition of urban design as a distinctive dimension of cultural policy. This thesis attempts to innovate such a study. The scope of scholarly interest in creativity in relation to urban places, planning and architecture has indeed been extensive. In my study of urban design within cultural policies in Seoul city, I will use the concept of creativity as a means to position them within a continuum of analysis, and to involve suitable social, economic and political dimension of meaning, where city policies make emphatic use of terms like ‘creative city’,

‘creative class’, ‘cultural/creative industries’, and ‘creative milieu’, or include reference to infrastructure as both ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ (a distinction made popular by Charles Landry: see Chapter Two). As indicated above, these terms, as policy terms, have a complex function far beyond the interests of this thesis – and extend to city publicity, profile, and policy trends, which in turn are progressively involved in certain politicians’ careers or a determinant source of territorial competitiveness between the major cities in the S.E. Asia region.

My focus on ‘creativity’ is not abstract, but will be situated within contexts of Seoul’s recent urban planning, particularly taking note of ‘place-based’ phenomena usually associated with the ‘placemaking’ tradition in urban design. I will not appeal to specific placemaking traditions or theoretical frameworks, as these are not explicit to the spectrum of policies I will be focusing on (to do with the DMC). But in the latter chapters of the thesis my analysis will attend to the broader social and cultural dimensions of Seoul’s urban planning – including the social community, way and quality of life, patterns of habitation and growth, and everything else that contributed to constructing a substantive identity and character to a given place. Rather, my immediate theoretical context, and the conceptual context of the DMC, is the ‘creative city’ discourse, which of course itself exhibits many influences from the placemaking tradition in urban design.

Further, the complexity of the term ‘culture’ is not extensively elaborated on

within this thesis. This is quite deliberate, given the expansive philosophical and sociological issues that such an elaboration would involve. I have, rather, maintained a carefully delimited subject matter, where the focus of analytical attention is the 'place' of the DMC as constructed by policy and planning discourses, and the analytical terms that I use in my central analysis (Chapters Six and Chapter Seven) pertain only to the 'creative' dimension of these policy discourses (specifically, on creative workers, and creative spaces, and also on the design and the deployment of art, specifically, public art). I have not ventured into a theoretical or speculative study on the character of 'culture' in the DMC or the discursive construction of 'culture' itself in this South Korean urban context. My research concerns are exclusively focussed on the concept of 'creativity' and its implications, and where I discuss 'culture' I do so only as defined within the creative city discourse I set out in my investigation (Chapter Two, Chapter Three and Chapter Four), and 'the arts' only in the context of their pre-identification as part of various schemes of arts commissioning, which was intrinsic to the design plan of the DMC (specifically, the central sections of Chapter Seven).

Despite some attempts to develop a more holistic approach by Western scholars, it still remains, that the planning and design traditions favoured by governments worldwide remain grounded in the interests of infrastructure, with an empirical bent, and which remain divorced from cultural policy or the theoretical interests of progressive urbanists. If they do approach such interests, they invariably favour the 'creative industries' (within which the arts

are, oddly, often included) or the 'creative class' of professionals (implying industrial innovation and the prospect of more 'start-up' companies and increased employability, and so on). This thesis, therefore, attempts to address this lack of an holistic approach, where the empirical requirements of infrastructure and the physical economy of space is taken seriously within a cultural policy framework. In this thesis, I will therefore be attempting to address the requirements of Seoul city as a city in need of social development as well as more 'hard' urban infrastructure. I will limit my consideration of this social dimension, however, within my principal theoretical concepts of creative city, creative class, creative industries, creative milieu, and creative clusters, all as equally significant concepts. Thus, this study will aim to address the strategic needs of Seoul city cultural policy development, as well as making an academic contribution to existing urban cultural policy and creative city theory, engaging with a range of debates that have appeared in the last two decades, some of which have heavily influenced Seoul city policy makers.

#### **1.4. Research Methodology**

The research methodology for this thesis consists of five main procedures by which I will set out to achieve my stated research aim and objectives.



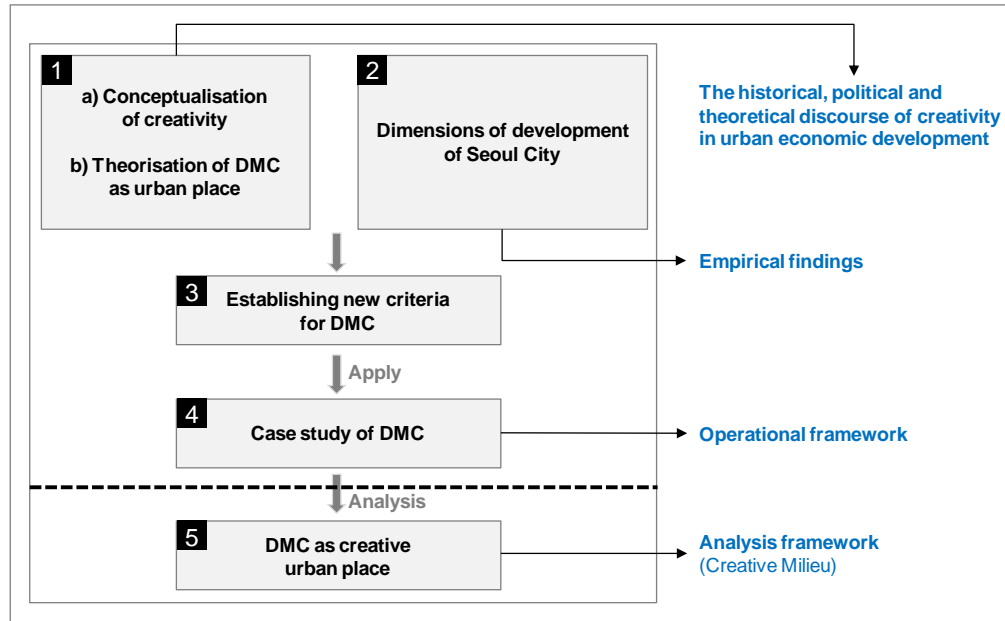


Figure1.2 The research methodology © Junmin Song, 2014

## (1) Literature review I:

### *(a) Conceptualisation of creativity and its implications in urban place (on a global scale)*

The relation between creativity and urban ‘place’, specifically in their relation to emerging concepts of creative or cultural economy around the world, is assessed in the literature review. Theories and related concepts of the creative city that influenced the Korean creative city discourse are also conceptualised, particularly in the context of South Korea’s political economy – or strong political management of the national economy, particularly where Seoul is taken for granted as the central fulcrum for any national economic development. This theoretical conceptualisation will be achieved by identifying the major concepts of creative city discourse that are now

common, globally.

*(b) Theorisation of the DMC as a creative urban place*

The relation between the DMC and creative city discourse (and its associated concepts) will be theorised, showing sensitivity to the similar yet ultimately different semantics and terminologies of practice. This examination enables me to identify the key principles of 'making places' as these emerge from the attempt to build a self-contained city from scratch (the DMC). I will then position these key principles as analytical criteria in our subsequent investigation of the making of a creative urban place.

*(2) Empirical investigation and findings: investigating the particular local context of the DMC (Seoul city) and the creative city policy complex.*

Here I will consider the processes of modernisation and industrialisation as they animate the cultural policy discourses in South Korea, and their central focus on the economic potential of cultural products. The investigation on Seoul's urban place, as a cultural product, will generate empirical research on Seoul's creative city strategy so as to add to our analytical criteria for the case analysis chapter. The study on the 'Korean Wave' phenomenon, the concept of the "creative class" reinterpreted and renamed by myself as the creative worker in the Korean context, and Seoul's urban landscape transformed by the different context of the Korean creative worker will offer us an insight into the local and cultural values that inform South Korean policy making.

### *(3) Literature Review II:*

My literature review will intentionally combine references to key literature from the two main theoretical discourses relevant to my investigation – the creative city and creative class discourses; key elements and principles will be identified in each, and I will offer an opportunity for reflection on our criteria for analysing the urban place of Seoul, the DMC.

### *(4) Case analysis:*

This takes the form of an analysis of the empirical case location as a distinctive and sustainable creative urban place as defined by the aforementioned policy aims. The case is, however, more than a discrete section of the thesis – it is part of a broader exploration, around which critical questions of theory and methodology are discussed in relation to the East-West problematic (of the East utilising Western policy trends).

The Seoul DMC was chosen as a case analysis location and focus of both the theoretical and empirical investigation in this thesis as a means of understanding the differences between the rhetoric and the realities of urban cultural policy in South Korea. It will also afford me an opportunity to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the DMC as a creative urban place, which allows me to interrogate the meanings of ‘creative’ in relation to ‘place’ within Seoul’s urban cultural policy. For my theoretical framework I will utilise the multi-dimensional approach established by Yang (2006) and modify this to fit the context of this case location. The case analysis thus consists of several

dimensions, including built environment analysis, observational analysis, a user questionnaire, and stakeholder interviews (Chapter Five). I would argue that this multi-dimensional approach is necessary due to the complexity of the relation between infrastructure and design, between empirical and aesthetic or between physical and non-physical elements that determine the construction of a creative urban place.

	Approach method	Types of data
<b>1. Historical background of case location</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historical background literature review of the case location</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To offer a broad context to comprehend the case study area</li> </ul>
<b>2. Built environment analysis of case location</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pictorial analysis of the built environment</li> <li>• Site observation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To investigate essential visual elements for the aesthetic of the built environment and placemaking</li> </ul>
<b>3. Observation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Site observation</li> <li>• Participant observation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To understand the interaction between users, activities and built environment (social and cultural use of public places)</li> <li>• To investigate how the case location is sustained and managed from a socio-political perspective</li> </ul>
<b>4. User questionnaires</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prepared questionnaire</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To collect empirical data with regard to the interrelationship between the built environment and its users and interaction between creative workers</li> </ul>
<b>5. Stakeholder interviews</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Semi-structured/structured interviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• For in-depth understanding of the creative workers, policy makers and community, and how they manage place to be creative and sustainable</li> </ul>
<b>6. The synthesis from 1 to 5</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Synthesis of the outcomes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To understand the successful components in building creative urban places in the case location</li> </ul>

Table 1.1 The framework for the case analysis

(5) *Discussion and interpretation*: extracting the theoretical themes, arguments and main claims from my analysis of the case analysis, and discussing their implications for both our theoretical understanding of the creative city and a critical evaluation of its embodiment in the DMC policy and practice.

Based on the findings of the case analysis, the discussion will concern itself with the particular political, social, cultural and spatial conditions of Seoul's urban policy development, which are simply not intelligible within Western theoretical frameworks. My final aim is to make a number of substantive points on the critical issues that prevent the development of the DMC into what I will argue is a fully 'creative' place.

### **1.5 Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis is organised into eight chapters. The first chapter clarifies the research background of the thesis via the research aims, objectives, a summary of the research methodology, and a basic description of the DMC. Following this introduction, Chapter Two outlines the theoretical conceptualisation of creativity and urban place, and their relationship to contemporary cultural urban policy discourse. It introduces the key terminology, concepts and recent scholarly debates that underpin the thesis: These concern the aforementioned 'creative city', 'creative class' and 'creative milieu', and the current practices of city development with which these notions are associated. The chapter will then examine the centrality of creativity in contemporary urban discourses that have influenced the East, particularly South Korea.

While Chapter Two lays out the theoretical foundation as well as the main themes for this thesis, Chapter Three examines the rise and recent practices of creative city strategies (and related cultural policies) in South Korea. The

chapter begins with the historical background of cultural policy in South Korea, which began with the rapid modernisation and Westernisation of the country after the Korean War (1950—1953). Additionally, I will extend our understanding of the complexly-weaved policy discourse of the creative city in Seoul.

In Chapter Four, my focus then jumps to the present and explains the contemporary 'Korean Wave' phenomenon (*Hallyu* in Korean) brought about by the continuation of rapid industrialisation policies, where industrialisation and the success of industries have become correlated with the Korean cultural identity itself. This will allow me to further explain the relation between the Korean Wave phenomenon and Korea's national trend for desiring for creative urban places, manifest centrally in the DMC. Additionally, I will identify the particular characteristics of Korea's creative workers in the local context, which will lead to a discussion of how this local particularity affects and transforms Seoul's urban landscape.

Chapter Five provides an analytical framework for the case analysis location, the DMC, as a creative urban place. This will be done through literature review of the discourses of the creative city in addition to those of urban design/placemaking. This chapter also outlines the research methodology of the thesis, including its philosophical assumptions and research strategies, so as to explain the research design and methods applied during the case analysis research. Additionally, the selection of the case analysis location,

while in some respect obvious, will be justified, and details on the nature of the data collection process will be reviewed, along with a qualification on the scope and limitations of the study.

Expanding upon the analytical framework from Chapter Five, and empirical findings from Chapters Three and Four, Chapter Six then explores these findings by briefly considering the political and socio-economical dimensions of cultural policy discourse. This chapter investigates the ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches to political intervention in urban cultural policy and urban planning and design, as well as the urban experience of creative workers’ in the DMC.

Subsequently, Chapter Seven investigates the findings based on an analytical framework derived from spatial and cultural perspectives and primarily explores the diversity and authenticity of the built environment of the DMC. In order to examine important factors in creative placemaking – the ‘vitality’ of the location – the chapter will consider the intervention and experiences of the users, and investigate the cultural and creative activities in the area.

Building on the investigations from Chapters Six and Seven, the subsequent Chapter Eight discusses the issues regarding the case analysis location as a creative urban place, particularly how the case analysis allows us to untangle the Korean discourse of the creative city. This will, in brief, indicate the

unresolved tensions between national policies of self-determination and global trends, Korean citizens and their culture, and the economic appropriation of space and the creation of urban places, and between the demands of art and demands of economy.

Finally, my concluding chapter revisits the original and central research aim - that based on my empirical analysis and critique of the DMC, *how a truly distinctive, sustainable and genuinely creative urban centre might be built*. My response, of course, does not come in the form of a plan or completely new framework for urban planning. It comes in the form of my thesis argument, that the DMC has fundamentally misconstrued some fundamental aspects of creativity, and these aspects could indeed be restored. Overall, my findings and concluding discussion are intended to generate the terms for a new strategic framework for designing a Korean creative urban place, and for planners and policy makers hopefully provide the intellectual groundwork for constructing a Korean creative city.

As the basis for my investigation, I will now provide a basic empirical description of the Seoul DMC. The DMC district was transformed from a landfill garbage site into a creative city and cluster in a short period of time. This is a significant deviance from the West, given that urban developments there can take place over decades, that the basic plan is often historical and thus pre-structured, echoing its topography; and that during those decades policy frameworks may change. With the DMC, however, the rapidity of the



development ensured that the policy aims remained fairly consistent, although as I will indicate, the shape of the project and its specific objectives did indeed evolve. The district was constructed from a masterplan and design blueprint, and was managed with a strong ‘top-down’ approach.

### **1.6 The DMC: Elementary Description and Introduction**



Figure 1.3 Seoul Digital Media City (Source: The official website of Seoul DMC, n.d.)

The Seoul DMC is a ‘city’, as it is a distinct, separate and (in terms of its services – its independent service infrastructure – as well as the juridical designation as a city ‘district’) architecturally cohesive urban centre. It is also a place for which independent cultural policies were drafted and implemented, and which was officially referred to (and openly celebrated) as the first planned ‘creative cluster’ in South Korea. The ‘city’ specialises in digital media and entertainment (M&E) and information technology (IT) industries, whose composition of companies and projects has been central to Seoul city’s urban and economic development planning within the framework

of a 'creative city' discourse. The Seoul DMC was not simply established as a vehicle of economic growth for the city region, but given South Korea's relatively small size, along with the dominance and centrality of Seoul to its national industrial development, the DMC certainly was a key component in the capital's policy frameworks concerning the capacity building of Korea's advanced information technology, human resources (including education and skills) and entertainment industries. In approximately 15 years, an urban wasteland on the periphery of Seoul city has been transformed into a city district combining state-of-the-art technology with, media and entertainment and other creative industries

(i) *Visions, Objectives and Concepts of the DMC*

The DMC was, and remains, an ambitious policy programme, vocally aspiring to be the world's leading creative city and cluster of innovative digital multimedia industries, and built on a state-of-the-art IT infrastructural foundation. Its initial policy and planning frameworks articulated an admirable aspiration to achieve an integrated economic, cultural and environmentally-friendly development, fully reconciled with the new opportunities presented by cultural as well as economic globalisation (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001). Discerning the specificity of the DMC policy aims, both from the spectrum of incrementally-constructed development policies over a decade as well as the continuing rhetoric and publicity around its development, has been possible only by comparing the core official policy 'rhetoric' with the 'reality' of the DMC as registered in interviews and my own empirical urban

design and visual analysis.

As my analysis will later explain, there are two dominant policy aims that were fundamental to the very inception of the political deliberations in the design and planning and development of the DMC. First, the DMC is intended to enhance Seoul's position as an information metropolis on both a local and global scale, offering large-scale technology services in data and information mediation and management. Digital communication is also central as a design theme in the creation of the public space and amenities of the DMC that shapes, as I will illustrate, the everyday activities of the city. The second aim is that the DMC would serve as a vision for the future – the integration of the requirements of technological advancement with low-carbon, environmentally-conscious energy consumption, yet remaining economically competitive on a global scale (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001).

In order to realise these aims, the DMC planning enterprise was structured in terms of four strategic concepts: 'innovation', 'focused integration', 'distinctiveness' and 'economic viability'. These can be paraphrased (and translated) as follows:

1. Innovation, which aims to create an urban infrastructural system that supports the production and adaptation of technologies.
2. 'Focused integration', which aims to strategically target the main industries and incorporate them and their associated activities so as

to maximise the synergistic effects generated by their proximity and common aims.

3. Distinctiveness, which entails a strategic concentration on related key industries, and along with both tangible and intangible services they offered, generates a coherent and distinct identity to function for competitive advantage.
4. Economic viability, which ensures the commercial viability of tenant companies, and the strategic framework by which those companies enabled the fulfillment of the broader economic aims of the development.

Further, spatial zones as well as facilities in the DMC (whether open pedestrian or 'public' spaces, or leisure facilities), were also managed for development on the basis of these strategic concepts.

*(ii) Location of the DMC*

The DMC was built on 570,000 square metres of land in a centre called 'Sangam New Millennium City', Mapo-gu, Northwestern Seoul (which, for comparative purposes, is 1.7 times the size of London's Canary Wharf). The DMC is located thirty minutes from Incheon International Airport, and as a destination is approximately three and a half hours from as many as 43 major Asian cities. The district, as we can see from Map1.1, is only seven kilometres from the core business district of Seoul city, and boasts fast transportation access and a main subway station.

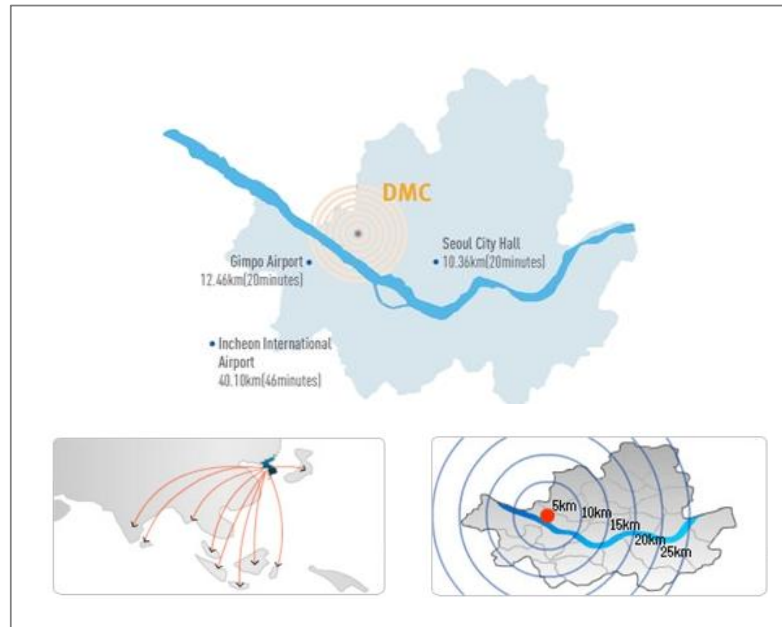


Figure 1.4 The Location of the DMC in the context of Seoul city (Source: Investseoul.com, n.d.)

### (iii) Key Agents in Establishing the Initial DMC Development Plan

The DMC project was the outcome of extensive cooperation between local organisations, the city government, central national government ministries, planning working parties, and invited experts from abroad. The first DMC plan was initiated by the Seoul Institute (SI hereafter, renamed in 2012 from the former Seoul Development Institute, an umbrella research institution and a component of the city government). The SI and the Seoul Metropolitan Government (hereafter, SMG), together formulated strategic aims for the urban development of the city, including the DMC. To establish a basic plan, the DMC Planning Team was created under the general direction of Kang Hong-Bin, founding director of the DMC. Kang Hong-Bin is an MIT-educated architect-turned politician (who was Seoul's Vice-Mayor from 1999 to 2002), former head of the SI, and now the General Director of the Seoul Museum of

History. The DMC was also created under the direction of Jang Yong-Hee, a senior researcher at the now Seoul Institute, and Kim Do-nyun, one of the principal designers of the DMC (notably, the designer of the now famous Digital Media Street) and a Professor at Sung Kyun Kwan University in Seoul. Kang invited his MIT colleagues Michael Joroff, Dennis Frenchman and Bill Mitchell, to form an international advisory group for the integration of digital technology and city planning (cf Cohen, 2012). Byeon Chang-heum, Professor at Sejong University, also joined this team later. The team worked with the advice from corporate executives at global firms such as Accenture and Hillwood, Strategic Services and they established the aims of what became the Digital Media City Basic Plan (SI, 2002). Other notable agencies were contracted, such as the Media Valley Corporation, which provides advice on development strategies and detailed implementation, marketing and promotion strategies (cf. *Digital Times*, 2000). There was a political trend towards 'partnership' models in the consultation and design stages of the DMC, where the SMG engaged with private corporations (along with the Seoul Business Agency), and the DMC Bureau, to generate the necessary capacity to build the implementation plan (cf. The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001). The planning process can be diagrammatically articulated as an interrelation of organisations, as below.

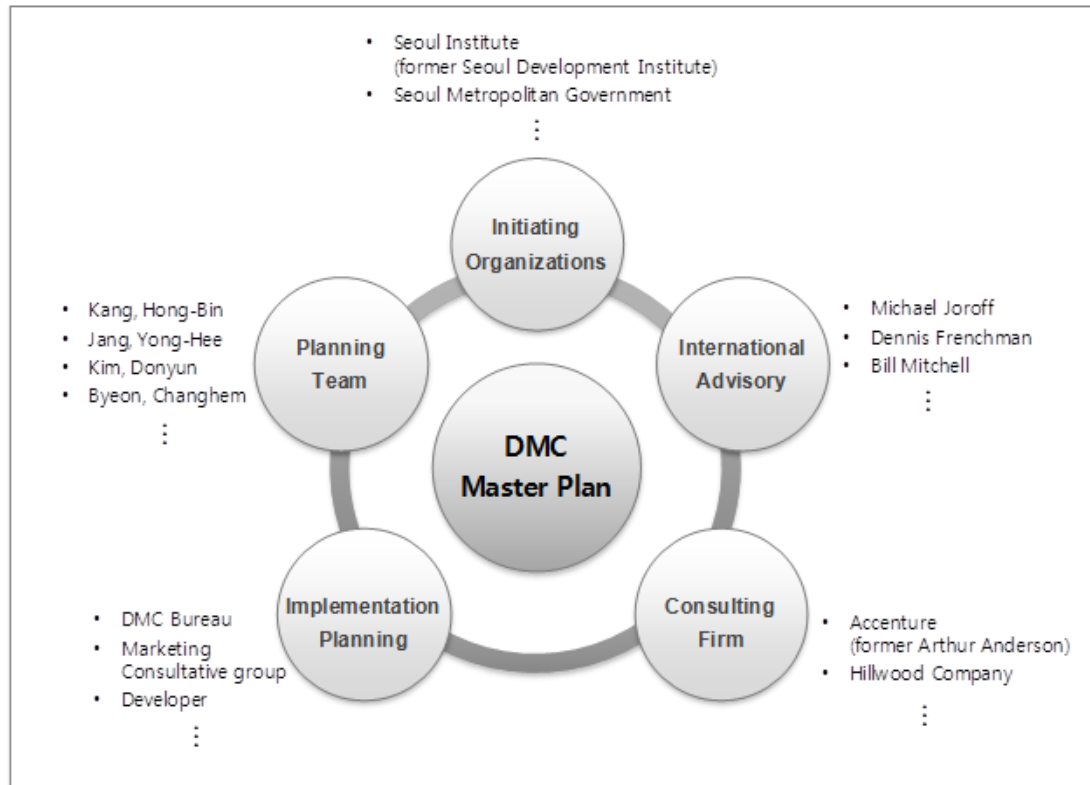


Figure 1.5 Main agents involved in establishing the DMC plan (source: SI, 2002, modified and translated into English)

#### (iv) *Industries Initially Attracted to the DMC Project*

The Seoul government planned to capitalise on the buoyancy of South Korea's economy at the turn of the Millennium (1999-2001), and through its fast growing multi-media, IT and entertainment industries, to raise capital, to devise plans, and construct a new state-of-the-art urban centre. The competitiveness of the market, and the growth rates and market shares in domestic and foreign markets, were perceived to provide favourable conditions not only for the raising of capital and securing of investment, but also for the attraction of both domestic and foreign corporations all within relevant specialised industries (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001).

Based on a rigorous evaluation of their suitability as related to the DMC's aims, the first core industries were identified as M&E industries; the second core industries were the IT service and software industries related to M&E (ibid). After the conceptualisation of the DMC as an M&E and IT industry site (hence it began to be referred to as a 'cluster' not just a 'city'), the researchers began to study comparative data on these industries in other countries, absorbing intensive data on interactive IT communications from companies worldwide. This research established the needs, strengths, weaknesses, and ultimately a new horizon for South Korea's media industry as a whole. As a new innovative cluster, it was intended to be distinctive from any other IT-related cluster, and from this period of rapid research and development, the emergence of the phenomenon of the Korean Wave (see Chapter Four) seemed to generate a triumphal confidence in their corporate ambitions. From this initial research, broadcasting, gaming, films and anime, music and digital education, were categorised as the five core industries to be supported with newly constructed policy measures (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001).

With an initial intellectual infrastructure of corporate-academic cooperation, and a focus on R&D, the DMC project attempted to accomplish the national political aim of reducing its reliance on manufacturing and developing capabilities for the so-called knowledge economy. The five 'core' industries can be articulated through the diagram below.



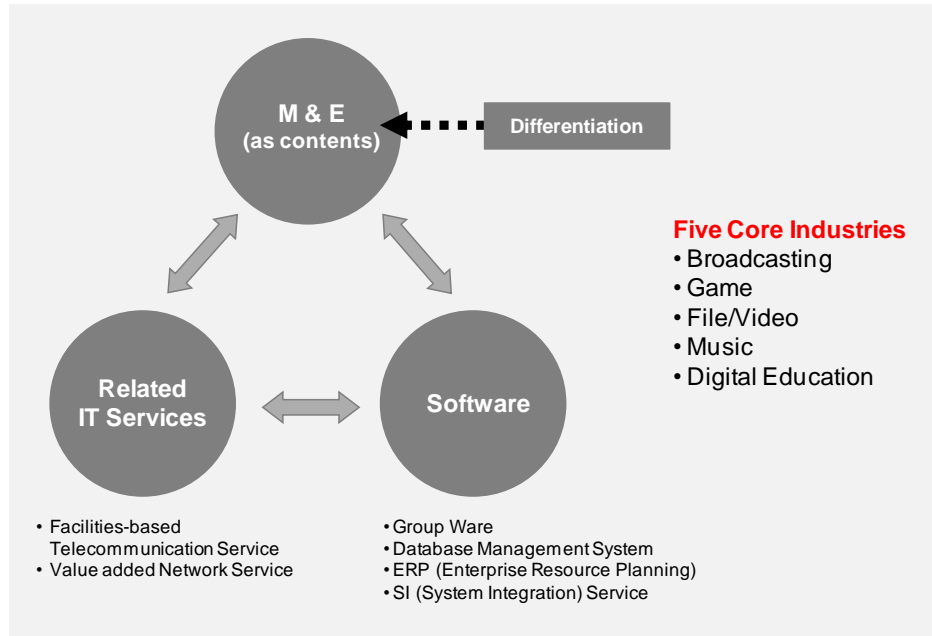


Figure 1.6 Selected industries in the DMC (Source: The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001, modified and translated into English)

#### (v) *History of the Site of the Digital Media City District*

From 1978 to 1993, the site of the Seoul DMC was the city's official waste disposal site, and was referred to at the time as Nanjido (Nan for lily; Ji for mushroom; Do for island) on the Han River. Nanjido stands for an island of abundant orchids and gromwells in Korean.

"Seen from a ferryboat, Nanjido was embroidered with orchid flowers and a field of reeds. Wearing a blue belt of clear rivulets. A little rustic, like a pretty country woman."

From Jeong, Yeonhee's Novel, [Nanjido], 1990

Nanjido was used as a dock for pleasure boats until the late Joseon<sup>3</sup> period. It is a branch of the Han River (Hangang) that parts from the central river of the neighbouring Mangwonjeong, and then rejoins it close to Haengjusanseong (Hill Fortress). According to *Taengni-ji*, a renowned book detailing the human geography of Korea in the late Joseon period, Nanjido was recorded as an ideal place for human habitation with sandy soil where the river mixed with seawater. Gyeomjae (meaning 'humble study', his pen name) Jeongseon (1676–1759), a respected Korean landscape painter, conveyed for posterity the beautiful Han River area. In Figure 1.7, the upper left part shows Nanjido (now the DMC). Until the mid 1970s, it was popular as a picnic site, a dating venue, a set location for romantic films, and as a dock for boats and leisure boating (ibid). Before it was designated as a landfill site, Nanjido was used to grow flowering plants, Chinese cabbage, radishes and peanuts, and around the river tributary of the north cruiser, a small village was formed whose residents were mainly engaged in agriculture. Nanjido and the river tributaries formed a region, where the village often flooded; embankments were built to prevent flooding in 1977 and 1980, and the region became more habitable (see Figure 1.7).

In 1914, Susang-lee, Guri-dong, Huam-lee and Deoken-lee (a part of Nanjido) were combined to become Sangam-lee, then changed to the current name of Sangam-dong in 1955, and incorporated into Mapo-gu in 1975. The

---

<sup>3</sup> Joseon ruled Korea from 1392 to 1910 and this era was generally referred to as the "Joseon Dynasty" or "Kingdom of Great Joseon" in the Royal Seal, national documents and others. The historical narrative can be found at: Ebook.Seoul.go.kr, n.d.

Sangam-dong area covers 8.38km<sup>2</sup>, accounting for 35.2 percent of the entire Mapo-gu area (ibid), and has long been a rural settlement without urban development. The rapid economic development and speedy transformation of Seoul into a metropolitan city have not only brought material affluence to its citizens, but also created a huge amount of waste. After 1978, Nanjido was turned into a huge mountain of garbage, and as economic development accelerated along with the growing affluence of the city as well as country, the amount of waste also increased exponentially. Furthermore, since the lifestyle of Seoul citizens has changed, the type of waste has also changed: in the 1970s and 1980s, the domestic production of industrial commodities and the disposal of household waste and food waste became major problems, and all kinds of refuse were buried without being safely separated into different categories. The area eventually accumulated 92 million m<sup>2</sup> of waste in a land site of 2,720,000 m<sup>2</sup> and the flatland was transformed into two immense mountains over 96 metres high. Nanjido was designated as a landfill site amongst several other areas in Seoul due to its convenient access for vehicles, and also because other landfill sites such as Jangnang-dong and Sanggye-dong had reached their maximum capacity (ibid).

In 1980, scrap dealers who collected recyclable waste and items for a living resided and formed a community in the area. The landfill mountain became an important community resource, and a village integrated into the waste site emerged next to the landfill. The village was subsequently destroyed in a major fire in 1984, and then converted into prefabricated houses for more

than 950 households, built by the SMG. In 1993, the Nanjido landfill itself was closed, the prefabricated houses were then demolished, and the residents moved out, having attained ownership of a parcel of apartments nearby. In 1996, the city of Seoul started a 'stabilisation' project to rebuild the landfill area as an environmentally-friendly city district, supporting the same policy aims as the rest of the city (cf. SI, 2002). This was the beginning of the DMC concept.



Figure 1.7 Historical photos of Nanjido © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: Photographs (i), (ii) SI, 2002; Photographs (iii), (iv) Ebook.Seoul.go.kr, n.d.; Photographs (v), (vi) SMG

WorldCupParks office internal data, n.d.)

(vi) *The Built Environment of the DMC*: (a) The Parks; (b) Axes and Zoning; (c) the Block conception; (d) Digital Media Street; (e) Cultural venues and spaces.

The DMC project spans five Parks, with a total area of 3,640,000 m<sup>2</sup> (1,100,000 pyeong in Korean measurement). These are located across a residential complex, where as part of the DMC a residential area is integrated into the 'cluster' with 6250 households forming a so-called 'eco village', initially designed for foreign and domestic residents. This pioneering 'environmentally-friendly' infrastructure, along with the DMC complex, spans 569,925m<sup>2</sup> (172000 pyeong). These three component parts involve three main functions in the overall plan – as a housing, business, and 'green' zone, respectively.

(a) *The Parks*: There are five World Cup parks which are Pyeonghwa (Peace) Park, Haneul (Sky) Park, Noeul (Sunset) Park, Nanjicheon Park and Hangang Riverside Park. Their descriptions are as follows:

*Pyeonghwa Park*: The word 'Pyeonghwa' (Peace) represents 'mutual coexistence and symbiosis', which encompasses concepts of the World Cup Park. It is constructed in about 440, 000 m<sup>2</sup> of land; *Haneul (Sky) Park*: This park is located in the closest distance from the Sky, which was built on the second landfill of Nanjido; *Noeul (Sunset) Park*: This is a 'culture and art

park', which provides numerous exhibits of public art, performances and the most celebrated sunset view in Seoul; *Nanjicheon Park*: Nanjicheon used to be a garbage landfill and a severely polluted area, but is now naturally restored as a clear river by a good covering of quality soil and sand, and by disemboing three thousand-tons of water in a day; *Hangang Riverside Park*: Lastly, this park is in the riverside area of Nanjido where the Han River and Nanjido meet. It is the second largest in all 13 parks in the city of Seoul, built to sustain the natural area of the riverside, and to provide leisure activities to citizens and to support facilities for the World Cup in 2002.



Figure 1.8 Location of five World Cup Parks (Source: Modified from *LPR Global*, n.d.)

(b) *The Axes and the Use of Zoning*: Zoning is often referred to in urban design as a quintessentially 'modernist' or modern-industrial era planning practice, and contemporary planning has since forged more integrated

means of constructing urban centres. One interesting aspect of the DMC plan, however, is the use of zoning to facilitate such integration. The 'zoned' areas are identified by function, yet are interconnected so as to allow for convenience of pedestrian walkability, and particularly with a view to enhance the social interaction of the workers in each zone, and to foster spaces and trajectories of interaction within zones so as to aim for a congenial working environment. Central to the plan, are the lines of the axes: The main axes consist of the 'Media and Culture axis' and the 'Digital and IT axis'. The media and culture-designated companies are located in the vertical line of the district, and the digital and IT-associated corporations are placed in the horizontal line of the district.

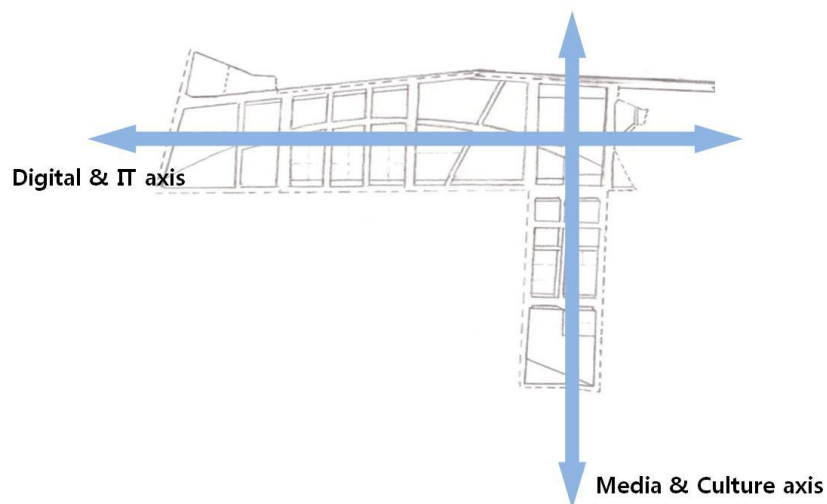


Figure 1.9 The basic concept and the main framework axes of the DMC (source: modified from SI, 2002)

The DMC is also organised in terms of three functional zones, which are the 'core function area', and (translated literally) the 'recommended function area'

and the 'general function area'. The core function zone encompasses the digital media industries, while the recommended function area provides land for venture facilities and headquarters of major companies; the general function area accommodates international businesses and other urban service industries.

(c) *The Conception of the Blocks* (Figure 1.10): These are conceptually uninteresting, but must be recorded as an intrinsic empirical feature of the overall design

- Block A: this is an Education and R&D block that offers easy access for cars and has been designed to be connected with a green area.
- Block B: an IT business area and advanced business district where business and commercial facilities, along with supplementary residential-commercial complexes, are agglomerated.
- Block C: this is an area for early activation development of the DMC, which includes an educational-industrial cooperation centre, an IT education centre and facilities developed by public sectors such as business incubators.
- Block D: this is an international business and core commercial block, where high-rise multi-purpose facilities are clustered and have been designed as the central core of the DMC.
- Block E: this block serves specialised functions for the M&E industries.
- Block F: this DMC landmark site is focused on facilities such as international business and consists of a convention centre, the DMC PR centre and hotels.



- Block G, Block H: these areas are reserved for public facilities in the future.
- Block I: this block is reserved for general commerce and the business district, with the Susaek subway station developed nearby.

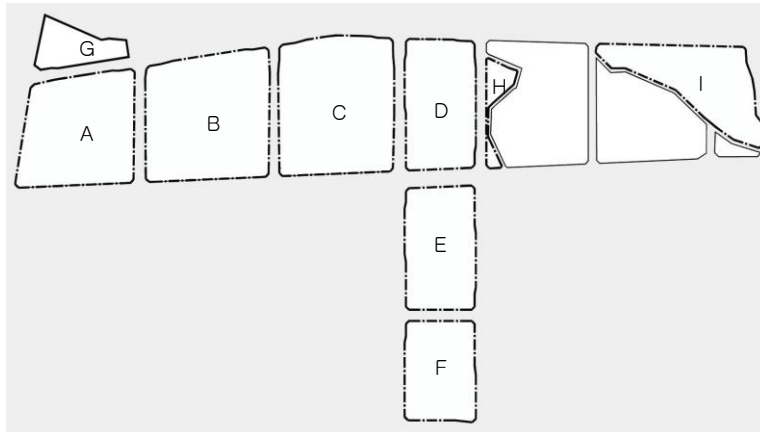


Figure 1.10 The DMC block diagram (Source: The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001)

(d) *Digital Media Street (DMS)*: The DMS is the ‘high street’ or main street of the DMC Complex. It is the arterial transportation route for the DMC residents, workers and tourists alike, and plays multiple roles as a vibrant and gathering place, featuring many venues for entertainment performances as well as civic events.



Figure 1.11 The DMC spatial arrangement (Source: Modified from The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001)

The DMS is designed to be of 'human scale', with visible curvatures (design features of traditional Korean aesthetics), interconnecting key nodes and activities together without the predictability of symmetry or the concentric circles of classical city planning. The DMC centre was intended as a core of a network of environments principally amenable to pedestrian activity, both through the east-west, and north-south axes. Within the DMC complex, however, the north-south axis is intended for vehicles, while the road between east and west is planned for exclusive pedestrian use.

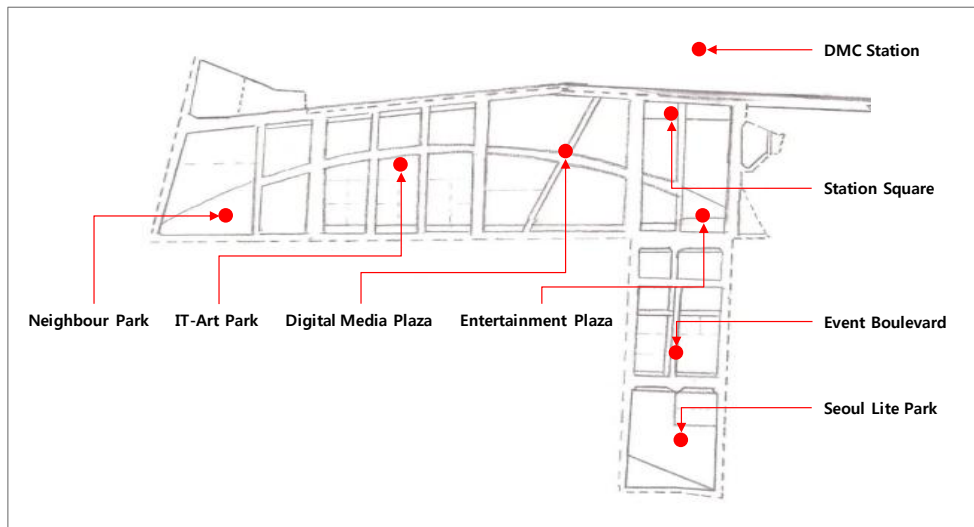


Figure 1.12 Cultural venues and public places (Plazas) of the DMC complex © Junmin Song, 2014

(e) *Cultural Venues and Public Places (Plaza)*: the Neighbour Park is referred to as ‘digitally embedded’. This is a small urban park with intended views of the surrounding, particularly the green spaces. Digital technology was initially embedded in the environment, but this is (currently) now exposed and open to view. *IT-Art Park* (Art and Culture Place): This is a small square of the DMC complex in which users can experience IT technology, along with restaurants, cafes, and galleries, and is a place to watch outdoor films. Other notable places are as follows:

- *Digital Media Plaza* (Fun and Event Place): through building a front and utilising the public spaces of MBC, Nuri Dream Square, Korea Creative Contents Agency, this area enables users to experience digital media, producing, education, research, sale, testbeds, and showcases.

- *Entertainment Plaza* (Multi-Layer Place): this area is a small square that is connected with the DMS, Soosaek station, the DMC landmark, WorldCup Park and the Han River. The effects and functions of CJ, YTN and Dongah Daily News (see the section 4.2, 6.2) and are integrated with the place.
- *DMC Station*: this station is connected to Incheon International Airport.
- *Station Square* (DMC Gate Place): this space consists of an entry plaza and a station square that connects Soosaek station and the DMC.
- *Event Boulevard*: this has the same concept as the DMS: a roadside and street, with building front spaces that are systematically planned.
- *Seoul Lite Park*: This is a large-scale landmark development site.

(vii) *Five Basic Directions for the Development of the DMC Project* (as articulated in the foundational DMC Masterplan, 2001)

In the planning stage of the development of the DMC, there were five main 'directions' (which I will elaborate on Chapter Five).

- 1) It was intended that the DMC as a city constructed around information, digital technology and media, would exemplify the 'future' and state-of-the-art city infrastructure unparalleled in the world. Yet this 'future' orientation would not neglect the physical-natural needs of the land, which was cultivated and stabilised.
- 2) The city would develop in an integrated way – where through an architectural plan, no one mode of activity would dominate. There

would be a balance of functions, interconnected facilities, concern for the skyline as well as the ground, a rigorous density plan, and a concern for the way current location of facilities would be sustainable.

- 3) The city aimed for both industrial-corporate productivity but also social harmony and public facilities: the growth of both private and public in tandem was a direction that would be positively enforced.
- 4) The concern for the environment did not end with the primary design and the building phase; the ecological dimension of the project was part of the development, and sought to increase the way in which urban development found ways of engaging with nature and open habitat (particularly in this case, the Nanjido ecological park and the designated 'green' areas for maximising locational characteristics as well as increasing their environmental value).
- 5) The development was to increasingly maximise the value of its real estate and land through a progressive step-by-step development and district unit scheme for residential property acquisition.

In this thesis, I have outlined the research background, rationale, aims and objectives, methodology, and the structure of the thesis. In the latter sections I have attempted to define, in the most elemental and empirical terms, the design components of the DMC – its main urban and topographic features. I have deliberately not added or inflected this empirical description with my individual viewpoint or points of critical commentary. I have deliberately echoed the functional tone and empirical nature of planning sources. Critical

commentary will be reserved for subsequent chapters. I have intended to display the logic of the DMC design, and how it has developed in response to an expansive range of aims, articulated in the seminal document of the DMC Masterplan 2001, which was my main reference point.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Creativity and Urban Place**

This chapter conceptualises my understanding of the central theoretical concern of this thesis – the relation between creativity and urban place [RQ1], articulating central Western concepts that have been instrumental in the development of Asian urban cultural policy in the last two decades. This chapter addresses the way creativity as a concept has become a powerful signifier within urban development globally, in part through its promise of a general economic growth through conversion to a ‘knowledge economy’. I identify how the creativity phenomenon has been disseminated in East Asia and Asian urban planning and design practices, particularly in South Korea – and this investigation will continue into the chapter following. This chapter also introduces several strands of the so-called ‘creative city’ discourse, which I discuss in relation to urban cultural policy and the Korean conception of urban place. I am particularly attentive to the use of the creative city discourse in the political sphere, for legitimising policy interventions in urban planning.

#### **2.1 Creativity and Urban Place in the West and East**

How far is the concept of creativity, (etymologically as well as philosophically),

largely a cultural phenomenon of the West, and how has it emerged in the East? Furthermore, how has this phenomenon provided inspiration and generated concrete strategic actions strong enough to motivate the building of a huge new city, the Seoul DMC? To answer these preliminary questions, this section embarks on setting out some critical observations on the ways in which 'creativity' has become central to urban thought, design, planning and research, in the West.

#### **2.1.1. *Creativity and Urban Place in the Socio-cultural Economic Triangle***

'Creativity', it can easily be said, is a phenomenon that belongs to every historical era, if one assumes it to be intrinsic to all cultural activity; although, of course, creative phenomena have not always been expressed in terms of a single concept 'creativity', or any cognate or synonym (Andersson, 2011; Florida, 2002; Hall, 1998). Yet, in contemporary culture, urbanism, and large realms of industry creativity is celebrated like never before. It has become subject to a range of conceptual elaborations and specific applications, can be defined as a significant value within a range of professional disciplines, and is now acknowledged historically as a key factor in the development of the twentieth-century and its unprecedented forms of progress (Monclus *et al.*, 2006). The scope of subsequent scholarly interest in creativity embraces a multitude of definitions, depending on the discursive context of professional discipline in question, and can involve research disciplines from business studies, to sociology, philosophy, technology or education and pedagogy.



The term creativity has become particularly recognized in terms of its promise of ingenuity, innovation of new solutions or product ideas, and resulting economic benefits (Florida, 2002; Sasaki, 2001). My interest, however, is the role it plays in urban thought, and the understanding of urban change. First noted by Jane Jacobs (1961) on New York, a diverse host of other authors followed (including Sharon Zukin, Michael Sorkin, Peter Hall, Charles Landry, Andy Pratt and Thomas Hutton, and of course Richard Florida), all of whom played a role in establishing the term in both urban research and critical writing on the development of cities. The interest in creativity was in part motivated by the radical and concurrent transformation in the economic, social and cultural structures of change wrought by the onset of the knowledge-based economy, a subsequent increasing competitive environment of cities within an expanding global economy, but also, for each of these thinkers, a need to reassert the value of human individuality, identity and cultural expression.

Most accounts of the emergence of the knowledge-based economy are predicated on the industrial transformation of Fordism to 'post-Fordism', which among many other things attributed value to differentiation, unique or nonstandardised products, innovation and a more flexible production responsive to consumer desire in a rapidly changing market (see Amin, 1994; Sayer, 1989). The uniform mass-production of Fordism, with the shape of the market was defined by supply and production, seemingly gave way to an economy of differentiated production motivated by demand, in turn where the

characteristics of culture, aesthetics or identity could be factors in stimulating that demand. (Lash and Urry, 1994; Scott, 2014). This change does not only involve the circulation and consumption of commodities, but the continuation of the 'industrialisation' of culture, which was one of the features of modernity (Cox, 2005; Cunningham, 2006). Policy innovations in the 'cultural' or 'creative' industries have significant implications for this study, in part because of the example of the perceived impact of such industries on the UK economy (see Garnham, 1987; 2005). This impact has included a range of factors from the innovation of new businesses to mitigate against the impact of the so-called 'de-industrialization' of the West (since the 1970s), and also the place-based regeneration of the de-industrialised regions, often with an emphasis on employment and/or revenue generating activities.

In 1997, with the election of the New Labour in the UK, the older term 'cultural industry' (inflected by older politically-Left discourses) was re-defined as 'creative industries', and deliberately inserted into the growing discourse on the knowledge economy (Garnham, 2005; Pratt, 2005). Although the concept of 'creative industries' had first appeared in Australia in the early 1990s, it was developed in the UK with the formation of a Creative Industries Unit in the UK government's newly termed Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS): (see Hartley, 2005). Interpretation with regard to the transformation of 'cultural' to 'creative' industries has been diverse. Garnham (2005) argues that developed economies all around the West were, in various ways, convinced by the notion that global competitive advantage was

to be found primarily in knowledge assets (contrary to manual labour) and innovations within the emerging knowledge economy (i.e. perpetually new ideas). However, the term 'creative' covers a broad spectrum of industries, even though it has been possible for some authors to identify certain occupations as 'creative' and others not. Hartley (2005) advocates that the meaning of 'creative' has been narrowed, in one sense in terms of pertaining to an artistic or cultural bent, but in another only pertaining to industries that generate or deal with intellectual property (IP), and this has taken place predominantly for economic reasons. Although interpretations are varied, it is demonstrably clear that the shift from 'cultural' to 'creative' was more 'economic' in motive – (i) to position what in the past were agglomerations of entertainment or design-based businesses (with parts of their supply chain), along with new IT-based innovation industries, as one industrial 'sector': this has advantages for policy, management and taxation, and so on; and (ii) to serve to promote this national industrial sector within international (export) markets. There were also indirect advantages, such as attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) through making the city-locations of such industries attractive places of consumption for international managers or executives, or simply 'prestige' locations (involving an absorption of the arts, heritage, leisure and hospitality of those places as dimensions of this designated sector).

The first official (governmental) industrial audit – a 'mapping' exercise by a UK government ministry research unit – was a document that sought both to

identify as much as evaluate this new 'sector', measuring the economic output of the creative industries (by DCMS in 1998). Including 'industries' that remain contested – like software development – the mapping document (revised in 2002) was immediately used in policy advocacy and then became exceptionally influential across the world. This is particularly true in the case of urban economic development; it was also cited (thus validated) countless times in UNESCO and UNCTAD reports (most visibly in the *Creative Economy* reports 2008, 2010 and 2013). Numerous writings and policy frameworks for the 'cultural and creative Industries' (hereafter, CCIs)<sup>4</sup> referred to the DCMS mapping exercise and, moreover, accepted its premises – that the CCIs constituted a discrete 'sector' whose activities (labour, skills, education, and knowledge infrastructure) was, and could develop as, a critical part of economic policy, bring profound economic innovation and development in a rapidly changing global context (Florida, 2002; European Commission, 2005).

Scott (2014) convincingly argues that the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism intensified the focus on the sectors of technology-intensive production, business, communications and services, and would inevitably involve the broad range of CCIs given how the former are intrinsic to them. Consequently, a greater attention to creativity and innovation in research throughout the 1980s and early 1990s on the re-industrialisation of European

---

<sup>4</sup> I will apply the term Cultural and Creative Industries (CCIs) hereafter to indicate both the concept of cultural industries and creative industries. CCIs has been increasingly used to cover a wide range of concepts (Pratt, 2005).

manufacturing was considerable, particularly as it drew on earlier researches on the organisational development of new industries through spatial agglomeration (Scott, 2014: including Jacobs). Despite, with expanding demographics in European countries through the 1980s and 1990s, cities and urban economies expanded, the new interdisciplinary policy areas of urban planning conjoined for arts and culture (architecture, planning, design and construction) as 'urban regeneration' (Garcia, 2004). In the report by Comedia (1991), the creative city was depicted and the two terms 'creativity' and 'innovation' were often conflated. Industrial needs and requirements were often defined in terms of cultural needs and requirements, and a rhetorical deployment of the term 'creativity' could facilitate this process (Scott, 2014).<sup>5</sup> While industrial design traditions would securely place the term 'innovation' within a manufacturing discourse, what Scott Lash and John Urry in 1994 called the 'culturalization of industry' meant that during the 1980s and the early 1990s the emerging realm of new branded consumer goods (from Apple to Smart cars to smart phones) began to blur the lines between culture, manufacturing and commerce within the general economy (see Bastide, 1977; Cox, 2005). Scott (2014) still observes that the term 'innovation' remains more appropriated in analysing the manufacturing economy, in particular technology-intensive industry. However, as the work of Richard Florida illustrates, the term 'creativity' has been expanded by policy discourse to encompass all new and inventive activities in the general

---

<sup>5</sup> In South Korea, the terminology dictionary of Naver, the first Korean online search engine, defined the term 'creative city' as 'innovation city' until April, 2011.

economy, of which the CCIs are principal pioneer.<sup>6</sup>

The expansion of creativity as a general policy term relevant to all new industrial enterprises has been extended in the social domain in relation to the study of urban economy, urbanism and urban policy in general. While ‘creativity research’ (as principally a form of psychology) has been considerable (Amabile, Goldfarb and Brackfield 1990; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Simonton, 1998; Harrington, 1990), it has not itself become visibly influential (cited or used) within the policy discourses that concern this thesis. Of course, since the Renaissance, philosophers and historians have used the term creativity as synonymous with the mental and practical processes of making art or cultural products in general, it is more significant that they regarded creativity as an individual, ‘mental’, propensity (a facility of the mind, where the ‘mind’ was far more important than in the age of modern psychology – involving conceptions of ‘spiritual’ inspiration and so on: Lau et al., 2004; Boorstin, 1993). Without explaining how the intellectual history of the term creativity has completely changed the consensus on the meaning of the term, we may note that Landry and Bianchini, in their initial pioneering DEMOS publication, *The Creative City* (1995), defined creativity as a social, shared, and material process. Creativity can be derived from multiple sources, involving projects or collective endeavors, multiple strategies, and certainly not only relating to artists, inventors or scientists. While this may seem to follow the trend of Florida’s *The Rise of the Creative Class*, (2002),

---

<sup>6</sup> The explanation and distinction between these two city theories will be discussed in section 2.2.3.

where creativity is the social process of industrial innovation, which is indeed multifaceted and multidimensional, but which is manifest in quantifiable products, industrial outputs and environments. Landry and Bianchini's conception would maintain a Renaissance element, in acknowledging how the historical arts and culture still retain an essential element of inspired individual invention. While Florida inadvertently draws on the classical 'creativity' traditions – emphasizing the capability to synthesise ideas; independence of mind; disrupting existing patterns of thought; experience and interpretation – all of which can be found in 'individualist' models of creativity as far back as the Renaissance – Florida gives no central place to the arts or culture. Moreover, while his conception of creativity may be 'collaborative', in the sense that it is generated by 'corporate' (business) entities, it is not emphatically 'social'. In *The Rise of the Creative Class*, cities with rich arts and cultural traditions, combined with rich social cultures and community life, are not counted as successful cities of 'creativity' unless they are characterized by a strong corporate and entrepreneurial business sector.

### **2.1.2 Creativity and East Asian Urban Place**

#### **(i) Creativity: East and West**

In terms of the social manifestation of creativity, then, as a generalization we could say that the East has been less successful than the West over the past 200 years. If we take into account obvious achievements such as inventions, discoveries or intellectual progress, for example, comparing the number of Nobel prizes awarded (more than 370 in Europe; over 300 in the US; and

around 40 in Asia: Kurup, 2012) the level of achievement of the East is not impressive. In Singapore, the book *Why Asians Are Less Creative than Westerners* (2001) gained huge popularity and was a bestseller in many Asian countries (Morris and Leung, 2010). It was indicative regarding a set of concerns that had been emerging in Asia for some time. For example, after the economic crisis in Japan in the early 1990s, policy makers in the major cities began actively advocating the promotion of creativity, questioning their educational system, uniformity in thought and behavior, such as the 'hierarchical' structure of the industrial workplaces (see Hashimoto, 2004). China also began breaking with precedent and using 'creativity' as a policy term, officially establishing 'Creative Industry Clusters', or by constructing 'cultural' infrastructures with the uses of art galleries and café spaces (Keane, 2007: 106). Countries in East Asia today pursue creativity in diverse ways, many of whom attempting to adopt western theories and models of creativity, yet at the same time avoiding the overt individualist historical-philosophical conceptions that emerge from the Western Renaissance.

There are two aspects of this adoption that need to be considered: Firstly, our assumptions on the nature of creative accomplishments throughout history must be noted. When considering the long history of the East, it is wrong to regard the Asian mind-set as conformist, uniform, 'collectivist' and thus 'uncreative' (Murray, 2003). The three earliest civilisations in the world were the so-called 'Three Great Civilisations' of Mesopotamian, Indus Valley and the Chinese civilization – all of which were (geographically, at least)



‘Asian’. In 5600BC, the first urban society, along with the practices of astronomy and astrology, (and the scientific innovations that defined the first 12 month calendar), emerged in Mesopotamia [parts of Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria]. The Indus Valley civilisation [Pakistan and India] innovated drainage systems, multi-storey buildings and the world’s first shipping dock (Kurup, 2012). Chinese civilisation invented the magnetic compass, gunpowder, paper, botany and made many more scientific discoveries (Needham, 1956; Needham, Robinson, and Huang, 2004). Indeed, many of the great creative innovations in the West during the Renaissance period and Age of Enlightenment, from the achievements of Columbus to Shakespeare, benefited from earlier Asian accomplishments. Historically, Asia can presents a far deeper historical narrative of creativity – individual as well as social.

Secondly, there are differences in social norms between the East and West; the assumptions regarding creativity must therefore take into account the context of cultural difference. In the article, ‘Creativity East and West: Perspectives and Parallels’ (2010), Morris and Leung argue that although there are some similarities between the East and West, such as creative ‘genius’ (Simonton and Ting, 2010) or ‘originality’ (Mok and Morris, 2010), and artistic (or scientific) historical development (Zhou and Su, 2010), there remain structural differences in how these manifest themselves socially. For example, as a generalization, Western societies privilege novelty where the East emphasises usefulness – and concepts of beauty are often mediated in these different ways. Morris and Leung continue to demonstrate in terms of

language differences, Chinese linguistically does not facilitate conceptual abstraction to the extent that 'alphabetic' languages do (Hannas, 2003), along with traditions of mathematics and scientific abstraction that help construct Western concepts of 'objectivity' and truth; Asian education generally favours holistic thinking, not 'analytic' thinking (Nisbett, 2003); and most importantly, perhaps, the 'individualistic versus collectivistic' culture of social norms can be identified at the social and organisational levels, and 'individual and collective' is a highly relative distinction. While in the West there pertains a prominent assumption that individuals need to distinguish themselves from others in order to locate their social identity; Eastern cultures emphasise a collective disposition, in which identity is achieved through a participation in social harmony through uniformity.

As such, the unconditional adoption of Western concepts of creativity in Eastern urban and cultural policies provokes a consideration of some of these issues. For instance, the alliance of creative industries with 'individual creativity, skill and talent' (DCMS, 1998) is frequently not adapted well in the East because of its collectivist disposition. Additionally, the Western emphasis on the role of 'entrepreneurs' being essential to the creative industries is also seemingly more complicated in the East. This is not least as in addition to demanding a certain kind of individualism, the characteristics of the 'creative entrepreneur' are associated with a 'bohemian' or 'counter-cultural' tradition, which is in tension to the Confucian traditions that preserve social harmony across Asia.

(ii) Western Theories in Eastern Urban Cultural Policy:

Recently, the increasing attention on creativity as a policy instrument has also begun to appear in policy-making domains in Asia. Shahid and Kaoru (2006) investigate the reason for this phenomenon, stating that the structure of East Asian economies has been shifting into upper-middle income range levels and seeking competitiveness through innovation flow from the CCIs sector. Several prominent governments in East Asia view CCIs as the driving force for future growth, including Singapore, Seoul, Shanghai and Taiwan. Shahid and Kaoru (2006) argue that the creative industries that flourished in major Western cities are moving to the East; their presence can be seen in Singapore, Hong Kong, Seoul, Taipei and several other Chinese cities. Japan, Germany and the United States used to be the main countries for CCIs, but future growth is anticipated to be faster in East Asia. This is not only due to the expanding urban middle professional and semi-professional class but also, to a significant extent, the interconnection of information technology. CCIs in East Asia have been developed in connection to a more knowledge-driven economy than in the west; Hong Kong and Singapore are identified as financial hubs, due to their geographical advantages, while Tokyo and Seoul have been successful in dealing with enthusiastic consumers of manufactured products such as computers and telecommunication equipment.

According to the *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision* by United

Nation Population Division, 1990 saw the combined population of Asia's cities reach 1 billion, and it is anticipated that it will be nearly 2.5 billion by 2020 (approximately half of the entire population of Asia). The report states that many of these cities have and will become so-called 'mega-cities' – routinely defined by UN-Habitat as a city with more than 10 million inhabitants. Asian mega-cities include Tokyo, Osaka, Seoul, Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin (Nadarajah and Yamamoto, 2007), and with this rapid urbanisation the focus on creativity has included policies on urban space, place and policy measures heavily influenced by the west. Of course, across the world the application of creative city policies have evolved and been adapted to each individual city. For example, even Dubai has gained an iconic reputation for its achievements and developments as an international hub of creativity and innovation; Singapore prioritised cultural policies alongside its traditionally dominant economic policies with an explicit focus on new arts and cultural facilities (Kong, 2012). In the 2000s, the policy plan 'From a Global City to a Global Creative City', was developed by the National Arts Council (NAC) of Singapore, and along with the Ministry of Information, Communication and the Arts (MICA) its stated aims was to produce creative people in the form of a 'Gracious community [in] a connected Singapore'. This was undertaken with three master framework plans: the *Renaissance City Plan* (1999); the *Media21 Plan* (2003); and *Design Singapore* (2003). Singapore developed strategies for establishing itself as a global creative city by developing the three elements required in making a creative city: creative people, creative spaces and creative products. If we could undertake a much

larger, regional, study, it could be demonstrated that Singapore's policies explicitly attempted to negotiate a compromise between the individualist bent of Western concepts of creativity with Singapore's historical identity and contemporary general economy as a means of providing an 'identity' to the would-be creative worker. The CCIs are framed in terms of 'building the nation'.

In 2005, the Shanghai municipal government adopted a UK-inspired creative industries framework as part of their strategy for economic development. This was a little later than other East Asian nations, yet (Kong et al., 2006; Keane, 2007; Zhong, 2011) by 2010, there were a reported million people working in the Shanghai CCIs, contributing 9.75% of the total GDP into the city. In five years, the number of 'creative industry clusters' (CICs) had increased to 90, and as a model they speedily extended across Chinese cities, in part because of a concomitant interest in boosting the high-tech industries (Ross, 2009). Chinese cities tended towards modifying an industry-based model of economic development to a broader urban regeneration, demanded by their rapid urbanization policies (O'Connor and Gu, 2014). They are developing a mixed model that combined the 'industry park' with 'creative workspaces' inserted into what in the West was 'culture-led urban regeneration'. Shanghai also developed strategies for attracting creative talent and has been named UNESCO Creative City of Design. Shanghai's CCIs policies have, again, been positioned within place-based frameworks – never referring merely to individuals or the 'industries'

themselves, but the economic development of the city and the aspirations of the 'new' China and national GDP.

'Create Hong Kong' (Create HK) is a co-ordinated government policy on creative industries, allocating \$301 HKD million (\$38.7 million USD) in support of creative industry projects in 2009 alone (Media.Aisa, 2009). According to the report *Creative City* (2013) by Create Hong Kong, (an agency under the Commerce and Economic Development Bureau of Hong Kong, along with many other efforts to reinvigorate the city as a creative space), 2012 was designated Hong Kong Design Year, where the government initiated over 60 design-related activities. \$38.7 million USD were allocated into a CSI (Create Smart Initiative) scheme in 2013 to facilitate these projects. This investment explicitly intended to nurture creative talent, develop markets and establish brands, and finally hold large-scale creative events to showcase these programmes. As part of this effort, cultural facilities for leisure and culture services were constructed (14 museums, two heritage centres, two visual art centres and a film archive), and creative spaces were developed in old buildings for instance, former Royal Hong Kong Yacht Club has been transformed into an visual art space and a place to nurture local talent. Again, a broader scrutiny of these developments would reveal that Hong Kong city municipal government [Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region] has identified 'culture' as a missing component of the city, an historical hub for trade and business. Investment in the CCIs is defined with a series of rationales that explicitly appeal to an investment in broader

national (regional) economic expansion.

These three examples, of Singapore, Shanghai and Hong Kong illustrate that the CCIs, arts and culture, are never simply recipients of public investment, or independent agents of change. They are instruments of broader policy aims which the collective of a given labour force is enrolled in helping the government to realise. However, despite these vigorous schemes and policy initiatives across the region, Asia is lacking an intellectual or theoretical dimension to its policy development. As noted, many Asian cities today are striving to become a 'creative city' and gain a reputation as a creative hub. However, Asia is still struggling to coordinate its strategies systematically, without a theoretical framework appropriate to Asia, and without a framework that will help develop Asian cultural life. It is becoming difficult to distinguish one policy from another, even in very diverse cities; they are all pursuing creative city status with an identical set of policies.

This raises a research question, on how Asian cities have adopted Western theories and integrated them into urban and economic development planning frameworks. I would suggest that, in time, Western theoretical frameworks could cause a certain amount of intellectual chaos and generate social issues for urban development policies in Asian society. One may argue that the traditional Confucian conception of social life, with its hierarchical systems of cooperation, is an obstacle to the development of creativity. Yet, I would suggest that the current tendencies in the West (such as Landry and

Bianchini) to consider creativity as less a property of individual ego and more a social process, is a derivation from aspects of traditional Asian culture (albeit with reference to more recent European developments, such as renaissance guilds and city-state government up to modern European city cultural planning traditions). In Asian society the building of a harmonious society was always its most significant aim, and this powerful tradition is so ancient as to be considered as a credible influence on early Near-Eastern concepts of society, such as Judaism and later Greek concepts, both together with Christian conceptions of cooperation and social harmony. The frequently articulated and dominant ideas are presented in the discourse of the creative city, I will argue, desire creativity to become more of a social process, and these are often presented as 'critical' viewpoints, where in Asian societies they are historic inclinations. Consequently, Asian in adopting Western conceptions of creativity in urban development should find themselves with a profound advantage.

### ***2.1.3 Creativity and Korean Urban Place: the Emergence of the DMC***

In South Korea, the nation's first major policy-initiated creative cluster, the DMC, did not emerge from private enterprise or the creativity of individuals, but was initiated, planned, designed and developed by the Seoul government (albeit influenced by Western governance trends in 'partnerships' and 'mixed economy' development models). In particular, key Western concepts such as 'creative cluster' or 'creative milieu' (see section 2.3), CCIs, and vitality of cities (Jacobs, 1961) have become cornerstones of the DMC armory of



theoretical concepts. The idea of 'creative cluster' was attractive to the DMC planners, along with global movements like other shared strategies, such as 'city branding', 'renewal' (translated in terms of redeveloping derelict industrial-era sites), and 'cultural infrastructure' (Flew, 2010). The international advisory team for the DMC planning, Kang Hong-Bin's MIT colleagues (Cohen, 2013), disseminated these Western concepts with enthusiasm. In fact, the Seoul DMC has been a medium for the diffusion of contemporary Western urban planning concepts and trends in city development for South Korea and the East Asian region.

But, as indicated above, before the creation of the DMC, there was increasing attention directed towards enhancing creativity in Korean society. Since 1961, notwithstanding the military take-over, the South Korean economy experienced 'miraculous' growth and continued to grow 8.6 percent annually over the two decades before 2000 (Moon and Mo, 2000). Additionally, the economy's GNP per capita increased from \$82 in 1961 to \$5,569 in 1990 (Anon., 2007). Though it had become the sixth largest exporter, and the seventh largest importer, in the world in 2012 (Ecos.bok.or.kr, 2013), Korea had suffered a sudden economic crisis in 1997, resulting in an urgent bailout from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Korea Development Institute, a well-respected international consulting firm, was charged with investigating the crisis and reported that one of the major cause was an insufficient capability to generate independent knowledge, information dissemination, and with unproductive conditions for

nurturing both. The report suggested an educational restructuring in order to stimulate entrepreneurialism and concomitant abilities as well as creativity (Kaufman and Sternberg, 2006). The Korean government has become greatly concerned with how to improve the creative potential of the Korean people and society, implicit theories of creativity have been continually circulating in national policy-making circles and the significance of creativity has (as a general observation) been fully acknowledged by Korean society.

After the 1997 economic crisis, the central government of South Korea made an effort to gain 'world city' status (today, the most influential term is 'global city') through beefing up the country's central economic development policies. The idea of the 'world city' captivated numerous national as well as city government politicians across the world in the late 1990s, and Seoul was no exception. Hosting large events has become a popular means of marketing and generating imagery for publicity (Ward, 1998). The co-hosting the mega-event of the 2002 FIFA World Cup by both Seoul and Japan saw evident efforts invested in this (SI, 2000).

The planning and design of the DMC emerged from this growing policy effort and general concern with 'world city' status, and the concept of 'creative cluster', while in the West designating a small urban 'quarter' or agglomeration, became a vehicle for much larger government aspirations. The DMC itself became conceptualized as a 'cluster'. The Korea's first 'creative cluster' is incorporated various government policy objectives in its

aim to become a global leader in knowledge-based economies, using advanced state-of-the-art technology (see introduction; The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001), and to that extent there is no parallel in the West. The DMC is both creative city and creative cluster – or creative city as a creative cluster, as it has been entirely constructed in a relatively short space of time from a relatively limited range of policy aims. While the strategic framework articulated a need for the industries cited in the Introduction, the DMC was a vehicle for a range of other non-creative policy objectives and needs. These were: the urban regeneration of an underdeveloped district in the city; the need for a transportation hub, connecting North Korea, South Korea and East Asia; the need to develop environmental policies in Seoul, and places where good practices can offset bad practices elsewhere in the city; and a place to host the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Seoul (ibid). Where the DMC planning team defined the project in terms of an arrangement of the demands of industry, culture and place (Kim, 2014a) – an integrated development from the outset. In closer scrutiny, the initial urban planning drafts by the economic planning headquarters in Seoul's Metropolitan Government (SMG) together with non-cultural objectives were a priority above the development of CCIs, and as for 'culture'. This remained something that emerged only in the early phases and the development plan has evolved.

In 1996, Seoul City began its the stabilisation project in the landfill area (which was to become the DMC) in order both to prevent further industrial

developments and to construct an environmental pollution protection facility to halt further environmental contamination. The stabilisation project involved collecting harmful gases, and the accumulated gas was used as the heat energy for facilities of the nearby Seoul World Cup Stadium as well as the Sangam housing development area (cf. DMC.seoul.kr, n.d.). As noted in the Introduction, the initial DMC plan used the five World Cup Parks project along with a residential area, the Eco Village, as an economically justifiable means of meeting international environmental expectations. The World Cup Parks project was established as part of the restoration of the adjacent Nanjido district. In March 1997, the Sangam-dong area was designated as a Sangam Development Project Zone, as a subcentre of Seoul, and in 1998 then Mayor Goh Kun publicised the 'New Seoul Town Development Plan'. This was linked to the project entitled, *Making New Image of Han River*, along with the master plan, the 'Sangam New Millennium Town plan (Millennium City)', finalised in 1999<sup>7</sup>. The new DMC plan – the 'Digital Media City Development Plan' – was announced in 2000 and, in the following year, the master plan for the DMC was completed, before the implementation plan was carried out. In 2002, the memorial forum of the DMC was launched in full-scale.

Throughout the process, due to the financial crisis in 1997, Korea suffered a period of major recession, which led to uncertainty with regard to holding a mega-event such as the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Seoul. Therefore, the

---

<sup>7</sup> Sangam New Millennium Town plan is a project that aims to be a centre of new economy in Northeast Asia.

development of the World Cup Stadium district, together with its surrounding areas, including Nanjido, became the more urgent dimension of the whole development (Kim, 2014a).

Even though the country was suffering economic depression, there was an attempt to shift the economic paradigm of the city (Kim, 2014a). Kim (2014a) asserted that the function of a city as a place for the generation of culture as well as a place of production was long forgotten by the South Korean policy makers after decades of government focus on industrial and developmental growth by successive governments. Kim (2014a) further observed that a city is an accumulation of a combination of forces that make for civilisation, and a significant level of reflection was needed on the level of policy so as to ascertain how, through the processes of modernisation and industrialisation, the value of Asian culture could again be understood. A turn to cultural policy was explicitly intended to orient the city towards a 'civilisation' mission, (Kim, 2014a). Concurrent with this new direction was the emerging (commercial) phenomenon of the Korean Wave (see section 4.1), which was subsequently used as evidence in policy circles that a commitment to economic development and to culture was not mutually exclusive.

The DMC planning team, and scholars from diverse sectors, especially convened a gathering to define the Korean Wave for themselves (Kim, 2014a): they concluded that it was a cultural phenomenon adopted from the West but had nonetheless been transformed and modified by the East,

representing a successful means by which South Korea had adapted Western concepts while allowing Asian aspirations to prevail. This was a lesson for the DMC – in adapting the Western concepts of creative city and creative cluster, yet through the policy implementation and development process they created something distinctively Asian. At the time, at the end of the 1990s, the rise of IT and software presented further possibilities in the form of an explicit policy aspiration to combine the capabilities of IT and culture (Kwon and Kim, 2013). When the DMC project was envisioned, cultural policy was supported by the government via the Culture Industry Promotion Law (amended in 2002), which was introduced in 1999 as a five-year plan for ‘The Development of the Cultural Content Industry’ (Hui, 2007). Here, ‘content’ would become a concept that could bridge the worlds of digital communications and culture. Kang Hong Bin, who was Vice-Mayor of Seoul from 1997 and a founder of the DMC, was in charge of ‘cultural contents promotion’ (Cohen, 2013) -- and given this, the DMC’s mission – and which typified how South Korea’s governmental policies were developing. In the history of South Korean government policy development the DMC project can be seen as part of a confluence of influences that represent partly government aspiration, partly the rise of digital media globally, and partly lessons extrapolated from the Korean Wave phenomenon, where culture and economics were no longer mutually exclusive.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Korean Wave will be addressed in detail in Chapter Four.

Date	DMC Promotion
1996	• A stabilisation project for Nanjido was launched
March. 1997	• Designated as a Sangam Development Project zone
July. 1998	• Seoul Metropolitan Government announced "New Seoul Town Development" project
Oct. 1999	• Established "Sangam New Millennium Town basic plan"
April. 2000	• Announced "Digital Media City development plan" in Sangam New Millennium Town
Feb. 2001	• Completed DMC master plan
Sep. 2001	• Established a service contract of detailed execution method with the graduate school, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (School of Architecture + Planning)
Jan. 2002	• Legislated and announced "Digital Media City support regulations"
Feb. 2002	• Held memorial forum of Digital Media City full-scale launch

Table 2.1 Brief historical timeline of the DMC development and promotion

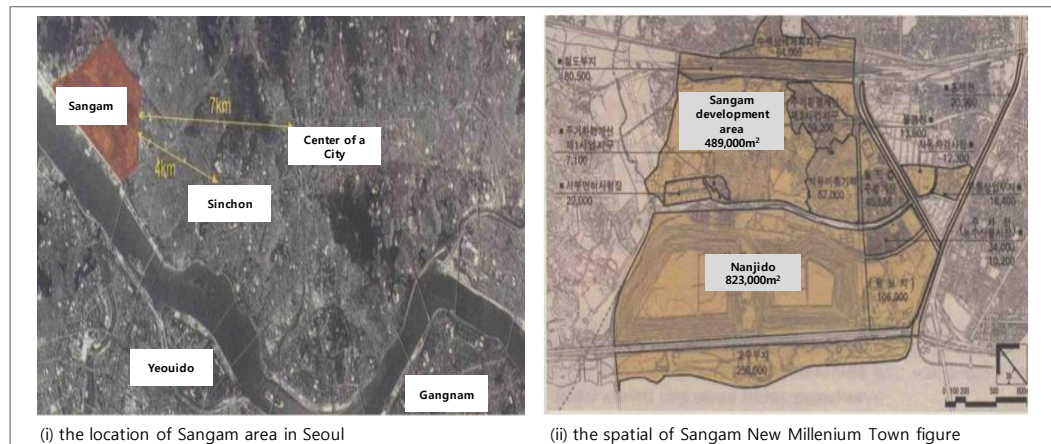


Figure 2.1 The spatial scope of Sangam area in Seoul (Source: (i), (ii) Modified from the SMG, 2000)

## 2.2 Urban Cultural Policy and the Creative City

This section considers in more detail the Western concepts – and Western theoretical understanding – that animated Seoul's first templates for a giant CCIs cluster (also meeting the many other infrastructural requirements noted above).

### **2.2.1 Theoretical background of the Creative City**

The first consistent formulation of the creative city should be accredited to Bianchini and Landry (1995), where through consultancy, cultural activism, policy-making and public dialogue, had expanded their concept, which was published in its fullest form by Earthscan in 2000 (as Charles Landry's *The Creative City: a toolkit for urban innovators*). The work of the original collaborative Comedia consultancy group, founded by Landry in 1978 and including some notable policy consultants, writers and thinkers (Francois Matarasso, Peter Hall, Fred Brookes, Jonathan Hyams, Phil Wood and others) had asserted the importance of not only the arts, culture and creative industries, but creativity in urban policy making and governance. Emerging from an era of de-industrialization and economic depression in the UK, the creative city discourse became deeply involved in subsequent waves of 'urban regeneration' policy (in Western Europe, not just the UK), but later emerged as a significant contemporary discourse informing advanced urban development in an age of digital media, global competitiveness, as well as environmental sustainability and civic responsibility

In a theoretical sense, though Landry himself was influenced by earlier European urban planning models, his central concepts are coherent within the so-called 'cultural turn' in urban research, planning and policy (Cook, 2000; Knox & Pinch, 2000). Sharon Zukin (1995) was one of the earliest to attest to the significance of culture in the formation of distinctive urban centres and their unique means of local economic development, along with



the significance of 'cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism)' as well as production. The social ways in which production and consumption were co-joined in the city featured large in Zukin's work and can be detected in Landry's. In one sense, this was inspired by observation on how, as Thomas Hutton later examined, the de-industrialisation of the West mean that older social formations of small business networks, tacit knowledge, civic association and local environmental factors, again become significant (Hutton, 1998). However, this did not detract from the fact that these 'older' forms of local industry were also emerging because they cohered with the rise of new international trends to service industries – where 'human' development, communication skills and administration became priority.

Landry (2000) and Florida (2002) were both active in promoting the creative city discourse in Asia and to policy makers within city governments. The latter's theory of the 'creative class' (Florida, 2002), was particularly influential in Asia. Landry's influence was in terms of the way the increased production of culture and creative goods required an increase in cultural resources and a capacity-building of the urban-cultural infrastructure. Both Florida and Landry agreed that a city only succeeded in the new global economy if 'creative milieu' were allowed to develop. Neither could explain, sociologically, the composition and development of a 'creative milieu', or indeed the relation between a 'milieu' and certain kinds of city or urban environment. Nonetheless, the notion that certain kinds of creative (usually

younger, educated) workers were needed *en masse*, was influential. Neither Florida or Landry presented analytical criteria to differentiate between types of city. Hall (2000), however, had categorised types of creative cities in terms of 'technological-innovative', 'cultural-intellectual', 'cultural-technological' and 'technological-organisational'. Scott (2014) had proposed that the creative city is simply a generic term denoting a culturally dynamic relation between work, leisure, the arts, culture and the physical environment.<sup>9</sup> This can be witnessed in New York, London, Paris, Barcelona, Sydney, Tokyo, Seoul, Singapore, and Hong Kong, is also found in many smaller cities and rural areas too (Scott, 2012). Scott is no doubt right, but only serves to illustrate how rhetorical the term creative city actually is; it seems to achieve specificity only in terms of its deployment in policy discourse (where it is used in support of economic growth policies in a particular city).

It is not possible to represent the enormous amounts of research surrounding, and contributing to, the creative city discourse – where detailed analysis, critique and argumentation can indeed be found from the work of David Harvey, Edward W. Soja, John Rennie Short, Malcolm Miles, Tim Hall, Jane Rendell and Iain Borden, among many other urbanists (albeit with little on the politics of urban-cultural policies and their implementation). In South Korea, the book, *Creative City: Strategies and Experiences* (Won, 2011) introduced

---

<sup>9</sup> Scholars like Scott (2014), of course, ground their studies on broader understandings of the historical development of Western capitalist economy: this described phenomenon is part of a third wave of urbanization emerging from cognitive-cultural capitalism (distinguished from the first wave of the nineteenth century factory system and the second from twentieth century Fordism).

representative authors of creative city framework such as Jane Jacobs, Peter Hall, Charles Landry, Masayuki Sasaki, and Richard Florida and their numerous articles (See also Kim, 2010; Rah, Park Oh; Woo; 2008; Won and Kim, 2011; Won, 2011b). The work of Japanese urban scholar Masayuki Sasaki (2001) is important here. His various publications on creative cities and urban cultural development systematically emphasises the importance of cultivating new trends in arts, culture and creative industries through developing diverse 'creative milieus' and 'innovative milieus'.

Masayuki specifically attends to the regional or 'grass-roots' evolution of a milieu, and its concomitant social dimension. Masayuki has been a regular speaker in UN circles, such as the UNESCO Creative Cities Network (established in 2004). Despite the criticisms one could marshal against the Network – it is often referred to in informal scholarly conversation as a 'city mayor's club' – it has similarly attempted to retain the social dimension of urban cultural development. On the basis of the UN 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, it attempts (as a policy mandate at least) to obligate its members to reconcile the need for urban economic development with social mobility, diversity, cultural rights and sustainability.

From the broad creative city discourse in urban and cultural research, this thesis will focus on three main thematic priorities (as also identified by Costa et al., 2008): (i) The use of creativity instrumentally (as a 'toolkit', (as Landry

would put it) for urban development [RQ1]; (ii) Commercial creative industries and their priority in urban development (as distinct from arts and cultural venues) [RQ2]; and (iii) the labour, workers, ‘talent’, and social milieu that is so evidently required [RQ3]. These three thematic areas will animate my detailed study of the Seoul DMC policy and planning process. I do this in relation to two key critical points in response to Roberta Comunian’s important paper ‘Rethinking the Creative City’ (Comunian, 2011): creative city policies are almost always ‘top down’ initiatives, despite how they invariably use ‘globally shared’ policy concepts on social diversity and participation; and creative city research is yet to demonstrate, in empirical terms, actual interaction between city policies, environments and assets and the creative talent of workers.

#### **2.2.2. *A Critical View: Policy and Political sphere of Creative City***

Florida’s theory (2002, 2005) has been at the center of the debate in Asian scholarship. In 2002, Florida’s book, *The Rise of the Creative Class* inserted ‘creativity’ into economic growth theory, defining it as a tangible driving force for urban development and economic competitive advantage. While as a growth theory, his framework was common to other growth scholars (notably Michael Porter and Paul Romer) his concept of ‘creative class’ maintained a very specific impact across the world and inspired an enthusiasm in constructing creative policies for cities (Scott, 2014). Scott (2014) argues that this was possibly due to the fact that Florida’s theories made it easier to understand the cultural complexities and subtleties of creativity and the

creative city by describing them in a broad economic context.

The vague concept of the creative city became more tangible and applicable in the urban space with his writing and it was regarded as a practical guide to establishing a creative city strategy. Scott demonstrated that the enthusiastic reception was evident in cities not only in the West, such as in the UK (Chatterton, 2000), the USA (Zimmerman, 2008), and Australia (Luckman et al., 2009) but also in Asia, such as China, Singapore and South Korea (Kong and O'Connor, 2010). According to Karvounis (in 2010), there are (were) over 60 self-professed creative cities around the world; the UNESCO Network in 2015 boasts 69 cities. In South Korea, according to the periodic publication *Wolgan Gukto* (meaning 'country territory': by the Korea Research Institute of Human Settlements), a creative city is defined as 'a city that attracts creative and talented people and places that these people interact and includes high creative people population' (Yongapulee, 2004). The definition highlights the pervasiveness of two main concepts of 'creative class' and 'creative milieu'<sup>10</sup> and Florida is one of the most influential writers regarding in South Korean creative city discourse, with numerous articles written by other scholars that analyse Florida's arguments and apply his theory in a local context (Kim, 2012; Lee and Oh, 2011; Won and Kim, 2011 etc).

Florida (2002) divides the creative class into two broad types – the super-

---

<sup>10</sup> The concept of 'creative milieu' will be addressed in chapters 2.3.

creative core and creative professionals. The super-creative core group includes a broad range of occupations within the areas of science, engineering, education, art, design and media. They are regarded as innovative and creative, generating commercial products (2002: 69). The creative professionals group is knowledge-based workers and are found in tangential business, finance, legal and education sectors (ibid.). The creative class is therefore (principally, though not exclusively) professionals with the propensity for generating an 'open', dynamic, social networked urban environment, which in turn creates a virtuous circle in which this environment develops as a socio-urban habitat for such people (with an interesting cultural life, and consumer markets to suit) and thus attracts more creative people, businesses and creative capital. Using granular data on the economic output of cities in relation to demographic data, Florida asserts that cities that attract, retain and develop a certain type of worker will excel in the small number of growth industries in the world's economy today – and this will, in turn (the argument is somewhat circular) contribute to the development of a vibrant urban culture. Current discussion around the term 'creative class', however, is varied, including such definitions as 'creative knowledge workers' (Brown and Meczynski, 2009) and 'creative entrepreneurs' (Smit, 2011). Kunzmann (2004) identifies a creative group of people without conceptualising them within a class, and highlights not only the individuals but also the role of creativity. He defines a creative person as 'someone whose thoughts or actions changes a domain, or establishes a domain' (ibid: 385). Markusen et al. (2008) offer a definition of creative

workers as ‘those employed in creative industries focusing on what they make; and those belonging to creative occupations focusing on what they do based on the creative skill content and work process’ (ibid: 25). Considering these various approaches in defining the term, this thesis prefers to use the term ‘creative worker’ (hereafter) to refer generically to all those who work in CCIs.

One issue with Florida’s framework is that while it seems to promote *laissez faire* entrepreneurial activity, it actually stimulates strong policy intervention from city governments, particularly in their use of land, property and financial incentives. This has generated a high level of scholarly criticism (Bailey et al., 2004; Malanga, 2003; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2008; Scott, 2006). From a policy and political view, Peck (2005) argues that Florida has placed himself in the ‘fast policy market’ (p.767) with ready packaged creative strategies for sale, but in reality policy contradictions emerge in relation between the global discourse and local urban development, or the theoretical understanding of growth and the labour and urban life it depends upon. Another criticism concerns how the ‘creative class’ concept is often used more in city branding or marketing rhetoric than actual urban economic policy (Jensen, 2005), or constructing the social diversity so necessary to a fully functioning creative ‘class’. Florida’s theory has been adopted in many countries regardless of local context, and simply adapted without critical consideration and debate (Comunian, 2010). It is possible to see a city’s public budget spent for culture on the signifiers of creativity -- attracting creative workers by building cultural

infrastructures (e.g. galleries, museums, etc.) often far exceeds the actual returns. This can reveal a policy maker's exaggerated hopes gained from the model of Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum (Evans, 2005; Jayne, 2004; Paquette, 2009; Sasaki, 2010; cited in Scott, 2014)

From a cultural perspective, local cultural development has also been controversial. Creative class is neither necessarily part of local culture or identity, nor advances the interests of the pre-existing community (Bailey et al. 2004). Neglecting the intrinsic value of culture, or using arts and culture as merely an extension of the capitalist conversion of leisure time into consumption (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972), is nonetheless significant in generating creativity (Pratt, 2008).<sup>11</sup> From a social perspective, inequalities can also be exacerbated in Florida's elitist and idealistic approach to the creative class. Malcolm asserts (in writing on *Creativity and its Afterlives*) that the creativity of traditional resident city dwellers (non-elite groups) need to be redeemed. Scott (2014) describes the top-down style of creative city policies as 'turbo-charge gentrification processes' (p.9). The consequence of gentrification is the exacerbation of the social exclusion derived from creative class formula that causes the displacement of central city districts, which are taken over by the middle class and new bourgeoisie (Bayliss, 2007; McCann, 2007), which is a consequence that is paradoxical to the creative city's philosophy of individual expression through diversity and free development

---

<sup>11</sup> According to Pratt (2008), the four sectors of employment in the cultural industries are original production, infrastructure, reproduction and exchange. He emphasises the significance of the first sector, original production, as this generates all forms of creativity.



through tolerance.

### **2.2.3 *The Creative City vs. the Smart City***

The confusion of terminology between 'creative city' and 'smart city' is notable. With the original strategic vision of the DMC the difference between 'creative city' and 'smart city' is often indistinct. The Seoul DMC is a combined cluster of IT and CCIs, both of which are acknowledged as key elements for transforming urban areas in the new economy (see Graham and Marvin, 2001; 1996; Florida, 2002). Looking at the *DMC Master Plan Report*, completed in 2001, there are several aspects to the description of the concept of the DMC that indicate it to be categorised as a 'smart city'. It defines the DMC as an 'Information Network City', involving detailed strategic plans such as vision and key programmes for the DMC Information/Communication Network Establishment, planning for the Digital Town, and Internet Data Centre Management Planning. According to Hollands (2008), one of the important factors which is prominent in the 'smart city' literature is the usage of networked infrastructures to advance economic and political efficiency that help to improve social, cultural and urban development (Eger, 1997). Secondly, a connection between universities/academic knowledge and the business world is significant (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Deem, 2001), as the DMC prioritises academic knowledge by locating organisations for educational purposes in the complex. Thirdly, the DMC is also a business park; there is a section in the master plan that refers to 'business environment analysis' and policies

relating to building a support system for venture start-ups.

Hollands (2008) asserts that the adjective 'smart' is generally used to promote positive technological innovations and address issues of urban growth via "ICT (Information and communications technology), similar to the wired (Dutton, 1987), digital (Ishido, 2002), telecommunications (Graham and Marvin, 1996), informational (Castells, 1996), or 'intelligent city' (Kominos, 2002)" (p. 304) in association with 'egovernance' (Van der Meer and Van Wilden, 2003), social learning (Coe et al., 2001), and social and environmental sustainability (Smart Growth Network, 2007; Satterthwaite, 1999). The 'smart growth' agenda takes a broad approach, focusing on urban areas trying to make use of innovative ICT, architectural planning and design, and CCIs to address various forms of economic, spatial, social and ecological problems, and to achieve social and environmental sustainability (see Thorns, 2002). Specifically, there are two major elements to selected smart cities; one is the use of new technologies and the other features a strong pro-business entrepreneurial strategy – and these are often bound up in a policy rhetoric of sustainable development and low-carbon economy. This is especially associated with 'clean' high-tech and creative industries (including digital media, the arts and cultural industries) (see Florida, 2005; Eger, 2003; Hall, 2000; Scott, 2000). From this discourse, terminological confusion between 'smart city' and 'creative city' occurs together with the relationship between IT, knowledge and CCIs in the knowledge economy (Carrillo, 2006).

In creative city discourse, 'soft infrastructure', highlighted by the work of Landry and Bianchini (1995), also includes knowledge networks and voluntary organisations, the conditions for free social movement that supposedly makes for a safe, secure, environment. Florida's popular creativity concept of the 'three 'T's' involves 'technology' as one measurement. Florida's 'creative class' refers to people working in IT, science and digital media, in a similar line to smart workers in smart city literature. Yet, Florida's idea is more wide-ranging, with emphasis on diversity, tolerance and even the inclusion of 'bohemia' (Hollands, 2008), even if sociologically, they remain only on the level of observation.

### **2.3 Creative Urban Environment: Creative Cluster and Creative Milieu**

From the conceptualisation of frameworks of creative city theories, discussed in section 2.2, creative urban place (both creative cluster and creative milieu) is understood in this thesis as a significant subset among a variety of competing priorities in urban planning and policy-related agendas, and as part of South Korean urban strategies (Landry, 2000; Florida, 2002, Masayuki, 2010). As the growing interest in the potential of creativity and CCIs for revitalising urban life has achieved momentum, terminologies such as 'creative quarter', 'cultural hubs', 'creative cluster', and 'cultural cluster' etc. have become buzzwords within the field of planning and policy making in contemporary academia. Accordingly, this concluding section will simply indicate the interconnection between 'creative milieu', 'creative cluster' and

the 'creative city', which will be elaborated on in chapters Five and Six.

### 2.3.1 *Creative Cluster vs. Creative Milieu*

The creative city discourse and the traditions of urban placemaking share an emphasis on the significance of 'place' (particularly small and 'human'-scale places) as well as concomitant social interaction. Montgomery (2008) asserts that the effective mechanism for building a creative city is 'creative industry clusters', not the assumption that the whole of the city can become a creative 'milieu'. The terms 'creative milieu', 'creative industries cluster' and 'creative industries quarter' have become common (Montgomery, 2008) in urban design, and many assumptions from the urban placemaking tradition have gradually found their way into urban policy, planning and urban research across the world, in part as they are amenable to a rising emphasis on community needs, (Oldenburg, 1989) the effect of social networks, tacit knowledge and trust relationships (see Fukuyama, 1995; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2000). However, urban planning practice is more problematic. Of these two concepts, I would put more weight on the concept of *creative milieu* when discussing the building of a creative city. Sasaki (2010) states that, in order to shape the cluster of creative industries whose 'lifeblood are the creativity, skill, and talent of individuals' it is necessary for 'creative milieu' (p.4). Pumhiran (2005) asserts that creative milieu is central to cultural clustering strategies. I would argue that, in broader terms, creative milieu is both indispensable and necessary in order to shape a creative city, whereas creative industry cluster is one ingredient within creative city concepts of

urban design. Without creative milieu, a cluster is merely an agglomeration of industries, which are categorised as 'creative' (the classification itself is varied), or a clustering of people in those industries. 'Clustering' does not itself entail interaction and social networking and the production of a flow of ideas. Furthermore, the 'milieu' consists of broader dimensions, including a responsiveness and experience of the visual dimension of the designed physical environment. Creative milieu can thus be a source for creative cluster and for creative city.

### **2.3.2 *Creative Cluster***

An assortment of connections between cultural or creative production and urban place is often attributed to 'clustering' where specialised CCIs agglomerate in a specific district. In a cluster, its members ostensibly collaborate and share resources (Pumhiran, 2005). There are many cluster theories, and many strategies through which clusters can enhance relationships between individuals and firms who are prepared to undertake risky ventures and re-build their relationship in support of mutual aims (Fukuyama, 1995).

The concept of 'cluster' and its associated terminologies -- "industrial districts, new industrial spaces, territorial production complexes, neo-marshallian nodes, regional innovation milieus, network regions and learning regions" (Martin and Sunley, 2003:8) – is now used in micro-economics, economic geography, sociology and political science (Bathelt, 2005). A most influential

cluster theorist is Harvard economist Porter (1990; 1998), who asserted firms in clusters gain more opportunities for innovation due to new buyer needs and new technological opportunities, and competitiveness amongst clustered firms creates stimulation to be more inventive, which also boosts the effectiveness of the firm's operations. This held obvious interests for local and regional development (see Marshall, 1890; 1922; Weber, 1965).

Now well-known clusters include university/R&D/industry hubs of science and industry parks, such as Silicon Valley (Stanford); Route 128, Boston (MIT, Harvard); the agglomeration of artistic educational facilities of art and design institutions in London and New York; emergent regional cities that include advanced production such as Bangalore and Singapore; cultural hubs replacing old districts or other (industrial) heritage areas such as in Baltimore; districts stimulating cultural industry sectors such as Soho London; and heritage/culture-based industry districts such as St Petersburg, Johannesburg, which is powered by international agency promotion plus related programmes such as UNESCO and UNCTAD (ACT government, 2012; Evans, 2001; Mommaas, 2009). Across the world we can find clustering strategy used by 'new' science and technology applications such as bio/medical/life science, micro-technology, digital design and manufacturing, and a 'pick and mix' selection of cultural and creative industries (ACT government, 2012).

Here, Hans Mommaas (2009) suggests a necessary differentiation in the

concept of creative cluster: firstly, we need to understand how 'creative' sets the creative cluster apart from other industrial or business clustering -- it is an 'artistic' concept, formed through the interrelation of culture and economy; secondly, creative cluster indicates a broader concept of cultural creativity, which also engages with 'applied' or entrepreneurial fields such as "design, fashion, the media, leisure and entertainment, cultural tourism or mixtures between them" (2009: 56); thirdly, it indicates technological, scientific or economic ideas of creativity. Nonetheless, the creative cluster can be suitably differentiated from business and industrial clusters, as illustrated by Michael Porter (1998) and Alfred Marshall (1890) (also see Markusen, 1996). In the case of the DMC, as a planned creative cluster, policy makers adopted Porter's theory and transformed into a collective model of clustering that embraces business and industrial models along with 'applied' cultural/creative entrepreneurial ones.

Mommaas (2009) argues that in spite of the increasing interrelation of culture and economy, and the increased overlap of culture and technology, various types of clusters still need to be differentiated and recognised as based on, and organised around, diverse types of creativity. Each type contains unique qualities and conditions in terms of the functioning of clusters. For example, Mommaas (2009) points out that the 'cultural-creative cluster', which is based on art and culture, needs to stand out as a specific category from other industrial or innovation clusters due to its specific economy and culture of creativity (in terms of a specific professional and residential lifestyle). Thus,

how these particular industries might productively be connected to other technological and/or business clusters without losing their original qualities, needs to be considered. For example, there have been numerous criticisms and skeptical views with regard to the 'use' of culture as merely a tool for economic growth, deepening the social exclusion with increased gentrification in regions, and corrupting intrinsic values of culture. Pratt (2008) also emphasises that the analysis of creative clusters must include not only economic and social contribution but also a consideration as to how such types of industries fit in with the wide-ranging cultural context of the city or region. In fact, all cities differ to some extent in their historical, economic, political and cultural legacies.

For these reasons, adopting the notion of creative cluster into regions and cities, or establishing planned creative clusters, requires an in-depth understanding of not only the characters, strengths and weaknesses of each type of cluster but also the local environment and assets established in the region. Thus, it is necessary to examine a new model of planned creative cluster, such as the DMC, to determine whether it is suitable for its concept, mission and a Korean context.

### **2.3.3 *Creative Milieu***

Within urban planning, spatial elements are classified in various ways -- such as 'quarters', 'clusters' and 'milieux'. Among them, as explained above, 'milieu' embraces spatial as well as environmental policy, economic



externalities and social ambience that all present challenges for urban planning (Jensen, 2009). In order to explore the background relating to the rise of creative milieu, I have divided it into two dimensions, one within the creative city discourse and the other in the field of urban design. In relation to creative city discourse and the concept of cluster, Pumhiran (2005) claims that the emergence of creative milieu was also generated from the areas of economic geography and regional science, with terms such as 'innovative milieu'. The idea of the innovative milieu is also based on industrial agglomeration theories by Marshall and includes pure economic rationales like creative cluster, as I observed above. Pumhiran (2005) explains that the concept of the innovative milieu has been complicated with a range of studies in regional development, from regional innovation to knowledge creation.<sup>12</sup> It is argued that the effect of specific regional industrial clusters is closely related to innovation gain in knowledge 'spillover', which is empowered by social networks and informal contacts (see Cooke and Simmie, 2005). The social networks enable dissemination of knowledge via interpersonal face-to-face contact, as well as interaction amongst firms and institutions (Camagni, 1991).

Landry (2000) elaborates the concept of the creative milieu as a practical strategy for building a creative city, stressing the right combination of 'hard'

---

<sup>12</sup> This scope includes innovation processes in industry or high-tech districts (Pyke et al., 1990), 'learning regions' (Asheim, 1995), 'institutional thickness' (Amin and Thrift, 1994), 'untraded interdependencies' (Storper, 1997), spatial innovation networks (Cooke and Morgan, 1994) and knowledge transfer (Antonelli, 2000).

and 'soft' infrastructures as well as 'tangibles' and 'intangibles'. Sasaki (2010) further emphasises the importance of arts and culture-based creative milieux along with culture-based production, where cultural value and economic value co-exist in the creative city. He asserts that the creative milieu is the most crucial aspect for the efficient integration of industrial, urban and cultural policy, within a social, cultural and geographical context. Accordingly, Sasaki (2004) states that the creative city requires various forms of creative milieu (including innovative milieu).

In 2008, Montgomery classified the term 'creative milieu' by tracing its origin to Gunnar Tornqvist and Ake Andersson. Tornqvist (1983) and Andersson (1981) share similar criteria for shaping creative milieux and both propose four required conditions: (i) capability of knowledge transmission; (ii) proficiency development in certain activities; (iii) regional learning; and (iv) offering synergetic effects in innovating products, processes and methods. This formulation is to some extent differentiated from those proposed by Landry, since Tornqvist (1983) and Andersson (1981) focus more on process and exchange as guides for innovative goods or services, rather than locational ambience, identified as 'soft infrastructure' (Landry, 2000). This can lead to enhanced communications, creative or innovative ideas, or live activities by individuals. Montgomery develops the Tornqvist and Andersson formulation by adding the spatial dimension and its relation to the typology of a 'good creative quarter' (2008). He advocates that creative milieux becomes the core of a production based on special knowledge methods, skills and

disciplines, in particular, physically taking the formation of clusters of industries or networks of firms and individuals. Below is his comprehensive typology, which helps us situate our observations within the discourse.

A visual metaphor for the nature of places			
Canter (1972)	Place	Activities	
		Physical attributes	
		Conceptions	
Components of a sense of place			
Punter (1991)	Sense of Place	Activities	Land uses pedestrian flow behavior patterns noise & smell vehicle flow
		Physical setting	Townscape built form permeability landscape furniture
		Meaning	Legibility cultural associations perceived functions, attractions qualitative assessments
Policy directions to foster an urban sense of place			
Montgomery (1998)	Place	Activity	Diversity, vitality, street life, people watching, café culture, events & local traditions/pastimes, opening hours, flow, attractors, transaction base, fine grain economy
		Form	Scale intensity permeability landmarks space to BLDG ratios, stock (adaptability & range) vertical grain, public realm (space systems)
		Image (cognition, perception & information)	Symbolism & memory image ability & legibility sensory experience & associations knowledge ability receptivity psychological assess cosmopolitan sophistication fear
Analysis Framework for successful cultural quarters			
Montgomery (2003)	Successful Cultural Quarters	Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Diversity of primary and secondary land uses</li><li>• Extent and variety of cultural venues</li><li>• Presence of an evening economy, including café culture</li><li>• Strength of small-firms economy, including creative businesses</li><li>• Access to education providers</li><li>• Presence of festivals and events</li><li>• Availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers</li><li>• Small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors</li><li>• Managed workspaces for office and studio users</li><li>• Location of arts development agencies and companies</li><li>• Arts and media training and education</li><li>• Complementary daytime and evening uses</li></ul>
		Built Form	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Fine-grain urban morphology</li><li>• Variety and adaptability of building stock</li><li>• Permeability of streetscape</li><li>• Legibility</li><li>• Amount and quality of public space</li><li>• Active street frontages</li><li>• People attractors</li></ul>
		Meaning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Important meeting and gathering spaces</li><li>• Sense of history and progress</li></ul>

Table 2.2 Conceptualising urban place (Source: Modified from Montgomery, 1998; 2003)

As the types of creative cluster are varied; in acknowledging the wide range of creative differences, the implication and implementation of the creative milieu has also been evolving. It does not merely serve economic reason or

cultural quarter, as Montgomery (2008) proposes, as industrial cultural districts as well as metropolitan cultural districts are the new wave of creative milieu within cities.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter addressed the theoretical background for the creative urban place. It considers the policy and concepts of the creative city, the main currents in strong 'top-down' approaches to urban development, including the 'toolkit' (cultural resources) approaches to the CCIs, creative workers and infrastructure, which have been criticised by many scholars. The essential or prerequisite condition for the creative city, I argue, is the concepts of creative cluster and creative milieu, terms that emerged largely for economic reasons but have generated insights into human interaction such as social networks and knowledge spillovers. Most importantly, with regard to the creative city in East Asia, arguments around the hegemonic relations between the West and Asia have been frequently debated. As investigated throughout the chapter, although Asia (including Korea) has strong empirical practices, it lacks its own critical voice in developing theoretical frameworks in the academic field regarding the creative urban place discourse. Adopting shared insights has been criticised as this results in a similar urban landscape and a loss of identity, which the creative city seeks to establish.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Seoul's Urban cultural policies and Creative Placemaking**

As indicated in the two previous chapters, South Korea's cultural policy and urban development have converged in particular ways, and have done so through the adaptation of Western policy concepts. Western influence was, of course, a reality of post-World War Two industrialisation and modernisation. Forces of consumerism and cultural imports were generated in the decades after the war, and have facilitated an influx of Western cultural values and norms which are rapidly disseminated throughout the everyday lives of the Korean people and Korean culture. The recent international popularity of Western urban cultural frameworks has, as I noted in the last chapter, influenced Seoul's aim to build a creative city similar to others in Asia. However, South Korea's urban and cultural policies and their associated products (in particular, popular cultural products such as the Korean Wave and creative city strategies, which encompass, city administration) have not simply been derived from the West; rather, they have been modified and redesigned so as to integrate with national and local policy priorities as well as urban contexts. In other words, Seoul's creative

city programme (like the Korean Wave) was based on the concept of 'local globalness' in urban policy-making (McCann and Ward, 2010; McCann, 2011).

In order to investigate this transformation process, this chapter will examine the particular local cultural contexts of South Korea based on empirical research. It starts by focusing on South Korea's cultural policy since the 1960s and how the country strengthened the status of its cultural products under the influence of Western culture. This chapter understands, and also focuses on the creative city strategy and city administration as a cultural product of Korea that was, directly adapted from Western frameworks. The creative city programme in Seoul has been adapted, modified and implemented by the government of Seoul in its particular municipal context. This chapter examines how and why Seoul's creative city strategy differs from the original framework, how it has been implemented, and what is still required to build a creative city in South Korea.

### **3.1 CCIs and Government Cultural Policy since 1960 in South Korea**

Between 1960 and the present, cultural policy in South Korea was manifested in different levels of policy intervention, from controlling top-down policy to an almost 'non-policy' approach (Costa et al., 2008). This implies that Korean CCIs have grown robust enough over time to permit a withdrawal of intervention. During this process, the aim of Korea's cultural policy has also changed from the establishment of a solid cultural identity to

the development of the nation's economic growth by embracing globalisation and targeting international markets.

From the 1960s to 1980s, during the early stages of the industrialisation process in South Korea, the governments of Park Chung-hee (1961–1979) Chun Doo-hwan (1980–1988) and Roh Tae-woo (1988–1993) implemented a state-led development approach for their policies in combination with a bureaucratic leadership style (Deyo, 1987; Amsden, 1989; Haggard, 1990). During this period, several industries were strategically selected and endorsed for fast national economic development, for instance, labour-intensive manufacturing industries such as textiles, apparel, food and beverage, and chemical industries (Galbraith and Kim, 1998). In order to boost labour-intensive industries appealing to a low-income market – industries that are closely related to cultural industries – cultural policies were implemented. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, under the government of Park Chung-hee, cultural policy was vigorously implemented through laws, institutions and organisations, and through public funds related to the cultural sector. The first long-term plan for cultural policy, the ‘five-year master plan for cultural development’, was thereby established.

Further, due to national historical, tragic events such as Japanese colonisation (1910-1945), the division of Korea (1945-present) and the Korean War (1950-1953), a major priority for Park Chung-hee's government was the establishment of a new cultural identity (MCI, 1973). For this reason,

culture and the arts, especially traditional culture, were considered as a powerful force in modernisation when driven by government policy, and 70% of the entire public expenditure on cultural fields was allocated to folk arts and traditional culture (MCI, 1979).

During this period, cultural policies were intended to support the government's economic and political aims. CCIs products such as songs, films and television programmes were encouraged to endorse the value of hard work, sacrifice and loyalty to the nation (Boyer and Ahn, 1991). Meanwhile, the military governments suppressed creative freedom and rigorously regulated the activities of those individuals and businesses positioned against the government's objectives (Cho, 1994; Kang, 2012). Consequently, the CCIs were rather underdeveloped and only products that supported the government's political intentions were able to endure.

There followed a turning point in the 1990s. The legitimisation of the government's authoritarian political system, with its underlying motivation of state-led economic development (Johnson, 1989) from the 1960s to the 1980s, came to an end due to several large-scale pro-democracy revolts in the 1980s. With this turning point from military government to the rise of the new democratic regime, the Roh Tae-woo government (1988–1993) launched a 'ten-year master plan for cultural development', under the slogan, 'culture for all the people'. In particular, the encouragement of regional culture, international exchange and cultural policy for unification were



emphasised and added to the objectives of previous governments. Socio-culturally, the economic growth of Korea gained momentum and society became more closely integrated into global markets. With this change, the increase of the educated middle class through industrialisation led to consumers demanding more sophisticated and high quality products.

Such attempts to advance the status of Korea in global society were further spurred on by the government of Kim Young-sam (1993–1998) under the political campaign slogan ‘Creation of the New Korea’ (Kim, 1995; 1996; 1997, cited in Yim, 2002). Moreover, the government advocated cultural democracy, creativity, regional culture, CCIs and cultural tourism and unification, in addition to the globalisation of Korean culture, although there were attempts to be more market-driven. As Mulcahy (2006) observes, the government could develop and encourage the CCIs by applying a broad range of policy tools from production to consumption, but the robust government intervention to support particular industries still continued (Cherry, 2005; Chu, 2009). During this time, the role of the CCIs and cultural policy as an ideological tool for Korean identity diminished, and was increasingly considered with regard to its commercial viability and economic value (Yim, 2002; Otmazgin, 2011).

During the Kim Dae-jung administration (1998-2003), Korean CCIs began to garner more attention outside of Korea through active cultural exchange. This was made possible by advanced information technology. In this period,

the government focused on promoting the same shift towards a knowledge-based economy that was occurring in other parts of the world, by undertaking drastic restructuring, along with a concentration on more advanced technology; for example, information and communication technology (ICT hereafter), and the cultural and biotechnology industries (Kim and Park, 2009, cited in Kwon and Kim, 2013).

The shift to a knowledge-based economy in policy-ideology occurred primarily due to the Asian financial crisis of 1997. The crisis necessitated a reconsideration of Korea's economic system, which had depended on a mixture of low-cost labour and manufacturing industries; it now moved towards a new economic development framework, centred around a knowledge-based economy concept. This also led to a paradigm shift from a government-driven approach to a more market-driven approach (Lee and Han, 2000; Pang, 2000). In this framework, as the CCIs were selected as key strategic industries for the government's export-focused economic development strategies, the government granted ongoing support to the CCIs. The cultural industry was implemented in association with other strategic industries, for example, the ICT industries. Apart from this endorsement of CCIs, the government of Kim Dae-jung also emphasised cultural exchanges with North Korea and Japan among others. Kim Dae-jung stated that cultural exchanges with other nations were important not merely for advancing national culture, but also for its globalisation (Kim Dae-jung, 1998).

In the 2000s, cultural exchange became increasingly active in both importing and exporting cultural products with the assistance of ICT developments. The Roh Moo-hyun government (2003-2008) stressed public participation as well as freedom of expression, in tandem with the propagation of the ICT industries. These policy objectives helped to shape a highly networked society with high-speed access to information, by deploying advanced broadband and mobile networks. This caused huge transformation not merely in the CCIs and its products, but also in the lifestyles of Korean citizens. The fast internet and mobile network made available everywhere – on the streets, in cafes, on the subway – offered a new format for communication and services. The ICT industries became a key element of the Korean economy and helped to increase the nation's competitiveness in the international market from the early 2000s onwards. For instance, Korean popular cultural products became widespread across Asia via the ICT infrastructure, and Korean music and entertainment firms utilised ICT infrastructure such as YouTube as a prime marketing device to promote newly released music. Through this diverse and active cultural exchange, with an enhanced market-driven approach and increasing consumer demand for higher quality cultural products, the Korean CCIs progressed at speed. There was also an attempt to encourage the amalgamation of the film industry and rising media technologies to promote the CCIs during the Roh Moo-hyun and Lee Myung-bak (2008-2013) governments: for instance through Digital Media Broadcasting (DMB) and Internet Protocol Television

(IPTV) in the mid-2000s, and smartphones and smart televisions in the late 2000s (MCT, 2007; MCST, 2011).

The government of Roh Moo-hyun continued to promote the CCIs<sup>13</sup> (MCT, 2004) and in addition to supporting their increasing popularity, the government recognised the commercial significance of copyright protection for the financial viability and success of domestic firms, and so launched the Korea Copyright Commission (KCC) to guard the rights of domestic businesses in global markets (MCT, 2007).

One of the core election promises of the government of Park Geun-hye (2013-present) was to continue assisting CCIs with great emphasis on Korea's creative economy, as explained. Now, however, the government is attempting to reduce policy intervention in the CCIs sectors due to the perception that Korea's CCIs are sufficiently mature to maintain their own development in the international market (Kwon and Kim, 2013). Therefore, the next section investigates the popularity of Korean CCIs products, and how the popularity of Korean popular cultural products has developed under Western influences.

### **3.2 'Cultureconomics' as the Foundation of Creative City Strategy in Seoul**

In 2006, Seoul began actively pursuing a creative city programme with the

---

<sup>13</sup> CCIs continue to be one of the chosen key industries for the nation's economic growth (MCT, 2004).

election of Oh Sehoon as the 33rd mayor of Seoul Metropolitan City. Throughout Mayor Oh's tenure, from his election in 2006 and re-election in 2010, to his resignation in 2011, he strove to develop the image of the city and its profile by fostering the CCIs and cultural resources to achieve economic growth and competitiveness. In his inaugural address in 2006, the mayor announced Seoul as "an economic hub for the region rich with creativity and vitality" (Oh, 2006); in the New Year's address the following year, he announced the "First Year of Seoul Brand Marketing" (Oh, 2007) as a creative city; and in 2008, he dedicated the year to the "City of Creative Culture" (Oh, 2008, cited in Lee and Hwang, 2011). Expenditure on Seoul's creative city programme has risen every year since 2007. Between 2007 and 2010, the budget was increased from more than 424 trillion won (approximately 354 million USD) to 965 trillion won (approximately 804 million USD) (Lee and Hwang, 2012).

Throughout his tenure, Mayor Oh clearly established the direction of Seoul's plan to develop into a global creative city. Since 2006, he fervently pursued and adapted a creative city programme from the models of western creative city strategies, and the worldwide circulation of creative city strategies, described as 'local globalness', fitted Seoul's urban policy-making well. Oh actively connected with creative cities in the West and simultaneously attempted to adapt a new model from western examples, with the purpose of turning Seoul into "a clean and attractive global city" (Kwon, 2009). Instead of adapting a single foreign source, Oh imported a combination of foreign

examples.<sup>14</sup>

In 2007, the SMG selected six creative industries as the core of the creative city programme: tourism; design and fashion; digital content; conventions; research and development (R&D) in information technology (ICT), nanotechnology (NT) and biotechnology (BT); and financial and business services. Together with these six creative industries, the government has supported cultural industries such as performance, art, movies, drama and animation features with a Culturenomics strategy as the foundation of creative city policy since 2008 (Oh, 2008, cited in Lee and Hwang, 2012).

The notion of 'culturenomics'<sup>15</sup> was a foundational concept of Seoul's creative city strategy (SI, 2008). Whilst strengthening the six key sectors, the government has also supported cultural industries more widely since 2008 (Oh, 2008, cited in Lee and Hwang, 2012). The SMG's understanding of

---

<sup>14</sup> Since 2006, Oh officially visited a number of cities. In 2007, Oh travelled to Dubai, Frankfurt, London and Milan so as to gain knowledge of their tourism marketing, design environmentally friendly energy (SMG, 2007b). He also visited Moscow, Beijing and Tokyo for the sister-city affiliation programme (ibid). Seoul signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Beijing for the Exchanges and Co-operation on Tourism (ibid). In 2008, Oh visited eight European cities<sup>14</sup> (SMG, 2008c) and Sydney (SMG, 2008d) so as to validate the idea of 'Culturenomics'. In addition, he visited Hong Kong and Singapore to investigate their roles and experiences as financial hubs within Asia (SMG, 2009b); and in order to examine public design policy, he travelled to Barcelona and Bilbao in Spain in 2010 (SMG, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> Culturenomics is a term combining culture and economics, first proposed by Peter Duelund, an Associate Professor of the Centre of Culture and Politics at the University of Copenhagen in his book *The Nordic Cultural Model* in 1990 (Ahn and Im, 2009). The concept of term has been changed with time, in the 1990s, it is considered as development of localization strategy that generates the economic value added through understanding of the country (local) culture for example, native employment, local brand development. In the 2000s, it is understood as generating value-added by Creative fusion of culture and industry, commercialization of culture, and by creative differentiation through the culture (Doopedia.co.kr, n.d.).

Culturenomics was that, “Culture is money. To transfer culture as money, environment is regarded as prerequisite” (MCT, 2008: 4). Culturenomics gained interest as a new growth engine to address Seoul’s loss of prominence after the mid-1990s, and at the centre of this new engine were the CCIs. The most important models that informed Seoul’s creative city strategy through the CCIs were the revival of New York, London’s escape from the stagnation in growth through CCIs, Tokyo’s endeavor to expand creative infrastructure and the development of medium-sized cities that focused on constructing landmarks and clusters such as Bilbao, Gateshead and Hong Kong (SMG, 2008).

Along with these examples, the most influential creative city theorists informing in the plan for Seoul’s transformation into a creative cultural city (SMG, 2008) were Richard Florida, Charles Landry and Masayuki Sasaki. Sasaki’s (2004) requirements for the creative city and Florida’s (2002) factors that a creative city must possess – melting pot metros, the gay index, and bohemian index – were used to validate the promotion of Culturenomics in Seoul. As a consequence, the SMG’s 2008 paper argued that Seoul was lacking in various opportunities and diverse types of jobs in the CCIs, openness and diversity of culture, a positive city atmosphere (resulting from a poor built environment), 24-hour entertainment facilities and spaces, and international creative workers (SMG, 2008). In order to address these shortcomings, the paper stressed the creative environment of the city itself, proposing numerous creative spaces all over Seoul; the inclusion of diverse

cultural clusters was prescribed; and the promotion of interchange among Asian nations to make Seoul a hub of creativity and to attract international creative workers to Seoul. The master plan for the creative cultural city was established in the same year and proposed three main strategies: establishing artistic, creative infrastructure; generating a creative cultural city environment; and enhancing the value of the city to increase its competitiveness among other north-east Asian cities also aspiring to become creative cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tokyo, Yokohama, and Hong Kong. In implementing these strategies, diverse efforts were made by the Culture, Design and Tourism Headquarters (CDTH, formerly the Cultural Affairs Bureau), in building and operating museums, galleries and community centres; encouraging art organisations; holding cultural festivals; and reconstructing historical sites and fostering heritage. Approximately 230 projects were operated by the CDTH, and the government spent around 233 billion won (around 138 million GBP) on the Culturenomics strategy in 2009 (SMG, 2009).

### **3.3 Implementation and Modification of Seoul's Creative City Strategy**

On the basis of the priorities identified above, the government focused on three key ways to implement the strategies: boosting the CCIs; enhancing the creative urban environment with emphasis on design; and establishing a new creative city administration to implement these practices. Oh did not prioritise the attraction of creative workers to Seoul due to the high density of creative workers already present in the city (see section 4.2.1). Besides,



attracting foreign talent is a complicated and difficult task due to the language, local culture and strong nationalist sentiments<sup>16</sup> in South Korea. Therefore, Oh chose to concentrate on nurturing the CCIs in relation to the built environment, rather than focusing on creative workers.

In fostering creative industries, the UK government's DCMS programme became the foundational model for Seoul's creative city policy. In Oh's mayoral speech in 2007, he affirmed that the objective of DCMS, which aims at promoting the economy as well as generating jobs in the knowledge-based economy, shares many qualities with Seoul's goals of economic development and competitiveness. However, applying the details of the UK's programme for developing creative industries introduced differences. For instance, industries such as nanotechnology, biotechnology or financial and business services were not included in the majority of western governments' creative city policies. The Seoul city government did not have an established policy framework for those industries, and it has therefore concentrated on building physical infrastructure such as the Seoul DMC, Han River Renaissance and Dongdaemun Design Plaza and Park (hereafter DDP) (SMG, 2007; 2008b; 2009), in addition to promoting the tourism industry. Although the Seoul city government shared the main aim, stances, and content of DCMS, i.e. economic development and the promotion of creative industries, Seoul has seen different outcomes from the DCMS model in developing the creative industries. Therefore, in implementing the details of

---

<sup>16</sup>South Korean ethnic nationalism is recognised and broadly shared (Shin, 2006).

its creative city strategy, Seoul required a different approach and method for its administrative processes and institutional framework. The dissimilar patterns of implementation also generated a unique creative city policy in Seoul. Consequently, the SMG set a new institutional agenda with its public management system, the 'Creative City Administration', with the intention of boosting creativity in personnel management and the civil service. It was described as an administrative process that stimulates creativity amongst civil servants and leads to improvement in administrative services (Oh, 2009, cited in Lee and Hwang, 2012).

In order to cultivate creativity, new projects such as the 'Oasis for Ten Million Imagination' and creativity performance evaluations by organisations were introduced. The Oasis for Ten Million Imagination gathers innovative and creative ideas concerning city administration and policies directly from citizens, and these ideas have been applied in real life through the Cyber Civil Policy Management system. In developing a personnel management system, a performance evaluation system is operated in which civil servants' performances are scored according to their creative ideas and auditing. Further to this a new civil service system, Dasan Plaza and Dasan Call Centre, was established.<sup>17</sup> Dasan Plaza is a one-stop service centre for citizens, and Dasan Call Centre functions as a 24-hour call service that answers citizens' queries regarding Seoul (Republic of Korea, 2010). These

---

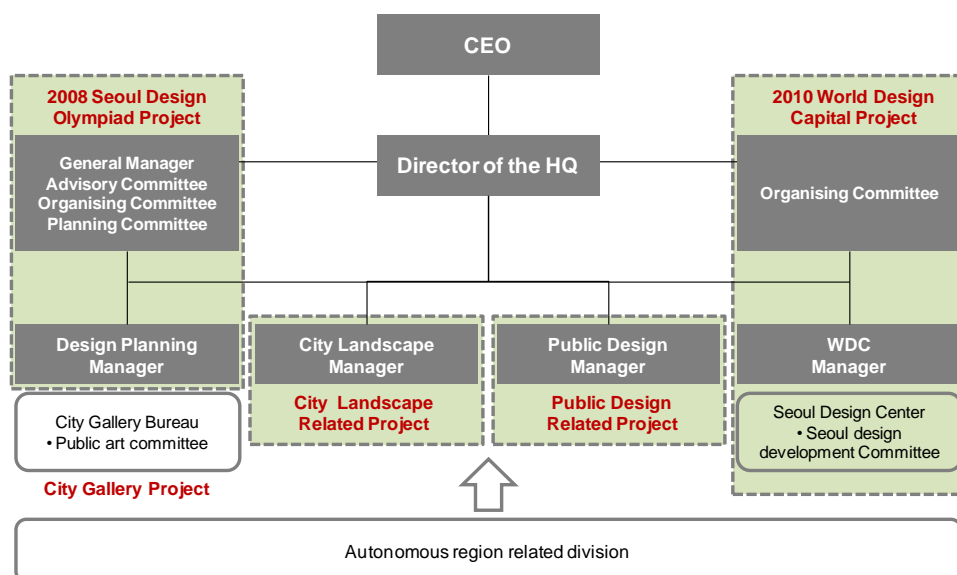
<sup>17</sup>Dasan is the pen name of Jeong Yak-yong, a well-known Korean philosopher in the late Joseon Dynasty, who emphasised the value of humanity, integrity and creativity (Republic of Korea, 2010).

newly introduced systems are very much aimed at a local administration service, and this is a significant deviation from western models (Lee and Hwang, 2012).

With the concentration on building physical infrastructure, the Seoul city government under Mayor Oh has put great efforts into upgrading the city through a cultural policy that raises design as the central idea of the creative city, generating the concept 'design city' and a range of design-led cultural events. This emphasis was derived from the ideas of Culturenomics, that Seoul requires a creative city environment with various infrastructures, an aesthetically pleasing city landscape, and diverse cultural clusters. Mayor Oh insisted that "design is a shortcut to becoming a global city" (Kwon, 2009). Painter (1998) argues for the importance of direct foreign investment, environmental issues and increasing 'cultural attractiveness' in the new globalised market so that local governments become more competitive. To achieve cultural attractiveness, the government of Seoul launched a proactive urban design agenda so as to improve economic and social wellbeing, based on Oh's policy of 'Design Seoul'. This attempted to prioritise global economics and political sensibility reflected in urban spaces, with their agenda of promoting market-based approaches, followed by reconstruction of the built environment (Oakley and Rofe, 2003). As part of this objective, the city government launched the Seoul Design Headquarter (SDH) in May 2007, and completed the Design Seoul Guidelines. These and related projects demonstrated success when Seoul was designated '2010 World

Design Capital Seoul' in October 2007. In 2008, implementation elements for the Design Seoul Project (DSP) were outlined.

The institutions relating to the DSP consist of SDH, the director general of Seoul Design Olympiad (SDO), an advisory committee, an organisation committee, and a planning committee for World Design Capital (WDC) 2010<sup>18</sup> (SI, 2008b). In addition, the City Gallery Project Bureau and Seoul Design Foundation (SDF) support the WDC project, along with a design-planning officer, an urban landscape officer and a public design officer who are all connected to the DSP. Kim Sun-hee (Kim, 201b), an officer in the Design Policy Department of the SMG, stated in interview that the various departments of the SMG interact extensively, including SDH and SDF, but the networks of professionals including academics and companies also work in cooperation through counsel, discussion and meetings (see figure 3.1).



<sup>18</sup>The explanation regarding World Design Capital will be illustrated in the next section.

Figure 3.1 Institutional framework of 'Design Seoul Project' (Source: Adopted from SI, 2008b, translated into English)

One notable development for DSP has been Mayor Oh's endeavour to convert the 'hard city' of Seoul, which was based on a development paradigm of construction, commercial enterprise, functionality and efficiency, to a 'soft city' that implied a more 'caring' government working with the 'soft power' of culture (Kwon, 2009). DSP is divided into two parts: the 2010 WDC project along with other several events; and the urban design project of Seoul with various projects in different fields working to establish 'Design Seoul'. The former project involves diverse contests, markets, workshops, exhibitions and the annual event, the SDO project, and the ambitious landmark project of DDP. The latter project includes public spaces, public buildings, public facilities, public visual media, outdoor advertisement, public welfare facilities and improved pavements, as proposed by design guidelines (SI, 2008b). The diagram below illustrates in compartmentalized fashion the city project:

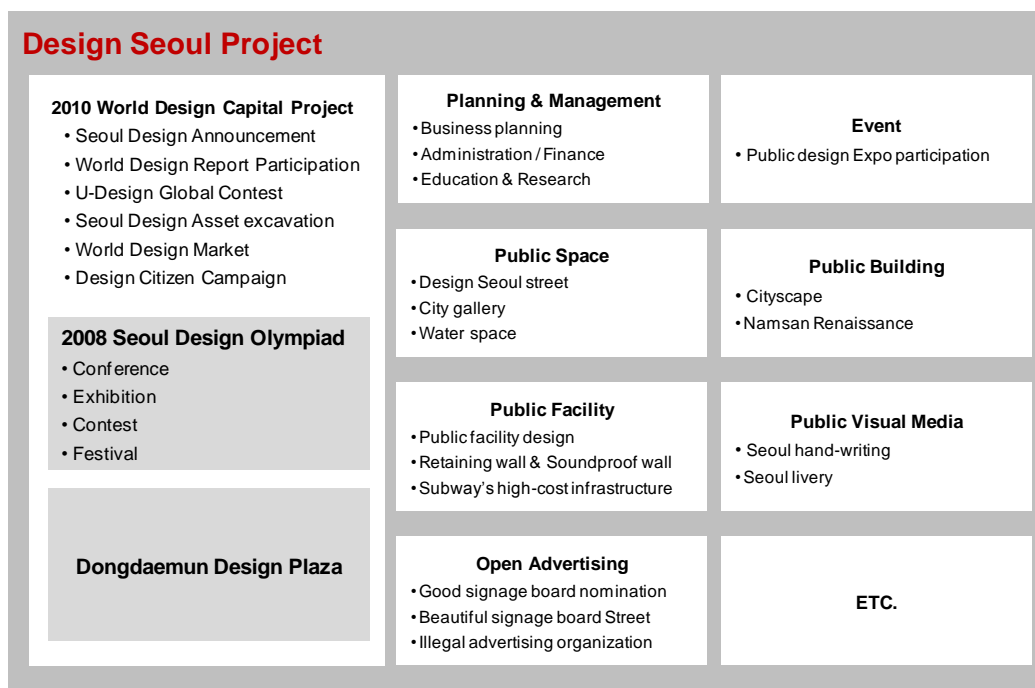


Figure 3.2 Design Seoul Project division (Source: Adopted from SI, 2008b, translated into English)

#### i) The WDC Project and Other Events

The 2010 WDC project and other events were ways of enhancing citizen participation (SI, 2008b) and increasing tourism. In urban planning as well as regional development strategies, cultural functions including not only the 'classical' performing and visual arts but also contemporary multi-media, leisure and design activities, are connected in a range of spatial forms: in new building districts, restored industrial and harbour buildings, and in quarters which together shape a cultural turn (Mommaas, 2009). As numerous cities have used large cultural events as instruments for establishing the city's brand image and tourist potential, with increasing recognition of these vital aspects of urban and regional economies (Landry, 2000; Scott, 2000), Oh's government enthusiastically promoted a number of

cultural events to consolidate the 2010 WDC Seoul. According to an SDH report (2008), this effort comprised four Design Seoul objectives: (1) an eco-friendly city with an outstanding natural environment; (2) a constantly self-improving cultural city born from Korea's rich history and traditions; (3) a dynamic city enhanced by its excellent ICT infrastructure; (4) a knowledge-based city with a highly educated citizenry. Under these visions, the focus on cultural policy and creative events has continued to grow as the driving engine for more permanent change.

## ii) 'World Design Capital' (WDC)

The city government attempted to launch major events as part of the WDC. In the General Assembly of the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID), which was held in San Francisco in 2007, Seoul was announced as the winner of the 2010 WDC from a range of candidate cities, and attained the title of WDC for the period of two years. The selected WDC is regarded as excellent in promoting design-centred development and optimising the strength of design (SDH, 2008). During this period, the city can exhibit their accomplishments in design, innovation and urban revitalisation (Chiang and Hsu, 2010).

The pragmatic advantages of such highly visible events are known to city governments worldwide, and cultural awards are especially sought after. For instance, the 'European Capital of Culture' title has debatably transformed UK cities such as Glasgow and Liverpool, by attracting press interest,

creating tourism and generating revenue, and they have become cornerstones of urban regeneration (Reason and García, 2007). Likewise, Seoul's nomination as WDC, following the designation of Torino in Italy, was considered significant and meaningful by the city government (SDH, 2008). The figure shows that the government of Seoul's expenditure for WDC, under the slogan 'Design for All', was approximately 82 million USD for around 130 design events in the city (WDC, 2010, cited in Lee, 2014). A variety of related activities were developed including as administration, marketing, the WDC Seoul International Design Forum and design research for Seoul, diverse children's projects, several workshops such as a design education roundtable, young designer workshops, cooperation between WDC 2010 marketers and education institutions, along with other contests and events.

### iii) Related Project: Seoul Design Olympiad (SDO)

The SMG initiated an annual global design festival, the SDO, in 2008, in conjunction with its attempts to turn Seoul into a globally recognised city of design. The event incorporated a conference, exhibitions, design contests and a design festival, aiming to publicise the image of Seoul as a world-class city of design. This was also intended to attract tourists and thereby induce influential design enterprises and design professionals to establish a presence in Seoul for adapting the most up-to-date design trends and advanced techniques, while strengthening the competitiveness of Korea's design field (SDH, 2008). However, even though the event was intended as



an activity with long-term effects, the SDH (later changed to the Seoul Design Fair) is now indefinitely postponed and has disappeared.

#### iv) Urban Design Agenda

As part of improvements to the urban landscape within the Urban Design agenda, the Oh government concentrated on the city environment through creative/cultural infrastructure and improving the city's physical appearance by creating a more attractive built environment, which exhibits vitality and aesthetic refinement (SDH, 2008). This included creating a more coherent cityscape by through designing buildings with distinctive characteristics (ibid).

With regards to enhancing the quality of public space and public buildings, significant projects were the Namsan Project, the Hangang Renaissance Project, the Street Renaissance Project and the DDP Project. The Mt. Namsan and Han River neighbourhood was renovated to reinstate the user-friendly features which have long served as the heart of public space for Seoul residents, with the Street Renaissance Project improving public facilities and the street environment, while the DDP was reconstructed as a new design hub on the former Dongdaemun Stadium site (SDH, 2008). The city government attempted to create the DDP as a landmark and as an architectural icon to endorse Seoul's international identity, akin to the Opera House in Sydney or Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum. In addition, within the project 'Design Seoul Streets', ten Design Seoul Streets were announced throughout the city. For this project, regulations were set to confine the

operations of vendors along city streets. There was also the City Gallery Project, initiated in 2007, which aimed to incorporate artistic and cultural pursuits into the everyday lives of Seoul citizens, and attempted to expand citizens' exposure to the arts and culture by installing art works throughout the city (ibid, see figure 3.3, i). This was public arts policy project for Seoul, taking as its slogan the famous aphorism 'city as oeuvre' (a city is a gallery of arts) by French urban sociologist Henri Lefebvre, pursuing a creative/cultural city that is itself a work of art (*SeoulDesign*, n.d.).

To improve the quality of public facilities and outdoor advertisements, new street furniture was designed within the Design Seoul Streets project, which was based on designs submitted by the public, and installed in many areas. Subway stations were redesigned by well-known designers; walkways along the fortresses of the city were renovated; and new lighting systems were established on the Han River bridges (SDH, 2008). Outdoor advertisement projects and public visual media projects have also been implemented with changing signage boards and the establishment of a brand identity for Seoul by creating a new typeface and unique writing style (see figure 3.3, ii), designating 'Dancheong Red'<sup>19</sup> as Seoul's representative city colour (see figure 3.3, iii) and creating the 'Haechi'<sup>20</sup> character as the symbol of the city

---

<sup>19</sup>Dancheong is the brightly colored pattern that decorates traditional Korean buildings. It is one of Korea's traditional colour schemes, obangsaek, and red has long been associated with vitality and vibrant power.

<sup>20</sup> The SMG introduced the 'Haechi' character in 2008 to the public. The haechi (generally known as haetae) is a mythical creature related to good fortune and happiness. It is known to live near the water in summer and to prefer the pine forests in winter. The Haechi character is used for both global and national publicity campaigns, including a Haechi culture street as well as a Haechi festival in the HanRiver and Mt. Namsan areas (SDH, 2008).

(see figure 3.3, iv) akin to Singapore's merlion and Berlin's bear (ibid).



Figure 3.3 Outcomes of 'Design Seoul Project' (Source: Photograph (i) © Seoul Design

Foundation webpage, n.d.; Photographs (ii), (iii), (iv) SDH, 2008)

#### v) Towards 'Design with People'

The Mayor Oh resigned in August 2011 due to a conflict of political issues, and was replaced by the current mayor Park Wonsoo. Mayor Park's cultural policy was more localised and citizen-focused, enhancing social welfare via the cultural arts (Lee, 2014). Park's city government launched a new slogan, 'city administration for the people' (*Yonhapnews*, 2011). Where Oh Se-hoon had concentrated on design-based cultural policy, his successor Park Wonsoo used cultural policy to support social needs.

### **3.4 Rhetoric of Seoul's Creative City Strategy**

The 'Plan for a creative cultural city for Seoul' established by the SMG (2008) primarily utilised the theories of Sasaki (2004) and Florida (2002, 2005), amongst numerous other creative city theorists, as previously discussed. In particular, the SMG paper (2008) concentrated on aspects of the creative environment (creative milieu) drawn from Sasaki and Florida. Along with Sasaki's proposition emphasising diverse and attractive creative/cultural spaces in a city by utilising historical and traditional resources, voluntary citizen participation was also central, along with a flexible system of production. These precepts led to the key concepts of creative/cultural spaces, preservation, citizen participation, and cultural/creative production in Seoul.

The primary points adopted from Florida's theories were the social creative climate (in terms of amenities and lifestyles) required for the highly mobile creative class, including 24/7 leisure facilities, sites for social networking (a third place between the workplace and home) encompassing diversity, tolerance, quality of place and culture at the 'organic' level, all resulting in authenticity and originality. From melting pot metros, the gay index and the bohemian index, the Seoul plan extracted key priorities for the Korean context such as openness, and the number of artists and innovative outsiders. These priorities were established to follow examples of successful urban regeneration through construction of cultural infrastructures such as the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain and the Tate Modern Gallery

transformed from the old Battersea Power Station in London, UK, which led to increased awareness of landmark cultural facilities on the part of policy makers. The concept of the CCIs, as mentioned, adopted from the definition of creative industries established by DCMS in the UK, was considered a tool that would boost economic growth, production and employment.

Although Seoul's creative city model was developed by combining elements from several major city developments from both the West and the East, Seoul's foundational concepts were primarily adopted from the West, in particular the CCIs, creative workers, creative milieu and cultural infrastructures. A new framework for the Korean creative city was formed from these concepts, furthering Seoul's development into a global urban frontier via its modified creative city model, with the city's own political, social, historical and cultural context at the forefront. The notion of the creative worker that is discussed in Korean academic discourse has been less prominent due to the local context, whereas the ideas of CCIs and creative milieu have been crucial in establishing the cultural creative city of Seoul. The theoretical proposition of nurturing CCIs as a key factor for the creative city was, in the Korean context, closely associated with the notion of culture as a means for economic growth and integrated with the term 'Cultureonomics' in the declaration, 'Culture is Money'. Numerous criticisms have been raised regarding the economisation of culture (Amin and Thrift, 2004; Malanga, 2004; Scott, 2006), and these have co-existed with city developments to highlight the economisation of culture as a site of ambivalence; essentially, in

Korea creative city strategy was used purely as a method of increasing national economic prosperity. With the aspiration for Seoul to become a global creative city (Kwon, 2009), the implementation of culture economics drew attention in particular to city marketing and branding with a tourism-centric approach that has become characteristic of Korean creative city development.

In supporting CCIs for economic benefit through activities such as promoting cultural tourism for city marketing and branding, the SMG concentrated on constructing physical infrastructure with the emphasis on Design Seoul. The flagship regeneration projects have been considered as key symbols of a shift in the urban landscape, their design and that of city neighbourhoods playing an important role in the process of urban regeneration (Wansborough and Mageean, 2000). Harvey (1989) asserts that the physical reconstruction and establishment of a new urban landscape serves a dual purpose, to revitalise the urban economy and to generate a new civic pride that reduces the local feelings of isolation derived from the effects of globalisation. However, the strategy not only failed to achieve its economic aim as it was discussed earlier regarding criticisms Florida's theory due to the excessive investment in cultural facilities but also failed to arouse civic pride.

During the term of Oh's government, the creative city policy that focused on construction-led projects rapidly increased debt (Lee and Hwang, 2012). This debt was 1.15 trillion won in 2006, and in 2009 it had increased to 3.25 trillion

won (*Seoul Economy Daily*, 2010). In total, 213 billion won was spent on the DDP, yet 26 out of the 30 'design streets' were obstructed with roadblocks, blocking traffic and other usage (*KoreaTimes*, 2011). Opposition parties as well as progressive civic groups criticised Oh's policy for spending the city's budget on decoration rather than preservation (ibid). The initial aim of the Design Seoul policy that aspired to the city's economic growth actually resulted in worsening the financial condition of the city government. For instance, the total expenditure for establishing DDP was 2 trillion, 500 billion won (approximately 4.9 hundred million USD) for the construction of the building in addition to 1.5 trillion for land purchase. The maintenance cost is around 30 billion won (approximately 30 million USD), and this has resulted in expensive rental fees (*TheScoop*, 2014). The Dongdaemun Stadium area used to be a place for low-wage residents and merchants. The area now has high rental costs that the inhabitants cannot afford. Pratt (2008) asserts that this trend of putting cities on the market with the use of community money is a socially regressive structure of taxation; it is also politically divisive in the city. Oh's policy, focusing on outward-looking renovation and construction, was justified by boosting cultural tourism and the entertainment industry with huge investment into Seoul's urban cultural infrastructure.

The idea of culture has been utilised as an expression of civic pride and economic vitality since at least the nineteenth century, with numerous city governments in the US and Europe having pursued cultural strategies to increase the significance of the arts as a method of city/place marketing in

the last twenty years (Wansborough and Mageean, 2000). The government of Seoul used cultural urban regeneration to promote city marketing by using titles awarded by major global festivals and events, such as Seoul's designation by UNESCO as a 'Creative City of Design' in 2010, its selection as 2010 WDC, and its SDO (now suspended). The government has successfully garnered attention from the international press by exhibiting its awards, and increased its number of visitors. However, Lee (2014) revealed that Seoul citizens could not enjoy the city's design events or venues, since the quality of the events and the process of implementing the strategy was disappointing. A freelancer industrial designer (Kim, 2014c) who was selected as a participant in the 2010 WDC made the following statement, "I gained good experiences from the Torino one, and expected a good outcome for the workshops in Seoul. But citizens did not recognise what we were doing." Thus, the disappointing quality of cultural events could not meet its original aim that supposes to enhance social connectedness and increasing civic pride.

Meanwhile, the concept of the 'creative milieu' was deployed in a way that attempts to make Seoul itself a creative environment, and this led to the concentration on urban design and built environment. The creative city discourse initially prompted the purely quantitative expansion of the Seoul landscape since the 1960s, and then, with a reflection upon this approach, an improvement of the qualitative value and the identity of Seoul's urban space has emerged and been put into practice (Kwon and Um, 2008). In



2008, institutions of Oh's government were exceptionally active in revising design-related law. The concept of urban design was converted into 'public design' which is a neologism in Korea, and defined as a similar concept to urban design (Lee, 2011). Those two terms have been used interchangeably, and the definition of public design has not been clearly defined in the legislative system and is still conflated with various definitions in other fields. The precipitously adopted concept of urban design was also applied under the aim of promoting cultural tourism and the CCIs. However, building cultural landmarks or infrastructure as strategies for nurturing CCIs resulted in widespread demolition, and the construction of new buildings and other physical infrastructure in Seoul.

DDP was controversial from the earliest stages of its planning to its finalisation. It was argued that the architecture by a well-known architect was alien to the city's sense of place, and historical and social context. DDP, designed by Prize-winning architect Zaha Hadid, was previously the Dongdaemun Stadium area and a vast 24-hour flea market. Critics drew attention to the long history of Dongdaemun Stadium, the main athletic stadium since 1925 (called Kyung Sung Stadium, and built in the Japanese colonial period), and the fact that during the demolition of Dongdaemun Stadium a relic from the Josun Dynasty was excavated (*SBSNews*, 2008). This landmark building was intended to establish the strong identity and brand of Seoul. However, as an outcome of the top-down style approach that generating global branding practices debated in the section 2.2, in similar

line, Klingmann (2007) warns of the dangers of brandscapes.<sup>21</sup> She observes that brandscapes can cause a severance of identity from the city's complex social context and can create a culture of the replica. This consequently generates a homogenised global landscape, instead of improving an area's own identity. Besides, the beautified, neatened environment of Seoul cultivated by Oh's government somewhat lost its accumulated history, sense of place and identity. The culture of a city is the expression of the individual identities and characteristics of its people, and the accumulated stories of individuals' everyday lives. Montgomery (1995) states that culture should offer city governors the required impetus and inspiration for urban regeneration and, by connecting it to urban design, the built environment can be improved while retaining its sense of place. However, the Seoul city government removed the city's own unique stories by demolishing and constructing new buildings under its ambitious urban design strategies.

## **Conclusion**

Urban and cultural policy in Korea has been affected by foreign influence since the 1960s. However, its related products – creative city strategies and city administration – were not simply imitations of the western model, but were adjusted for the local context with the goal of economic development, and with policy intervention geared towards becoming a leading nation in the global knowledge economy (through a compartmentalised corporate

---

<sup>21</sup>Brandscapes is a critical perspective on the mixture of architecture and branding, and the outcomes of this combination (Klingmann, 2007).

discourse).

Seoul's vision of becoming a global creative city was pursued by enhancing CCIs while ignoring its citizens' social needs and the diverse circumstances and statuses of creative workers, the crucial human resource. The objective of generating a creative urban environment became heavily dependent upon outward-looking tourism, with the help of one-off and nominal cultural events and upon an excessive emphasis on physical construction, with the attendant demolition and new construction.

The western urban cultural frameworks that have become the foundation of Korean creative districts, and the local and national particularities derived from a city's historical, political, social and cultural background raised new terms and ideas in creative urban placemaking in South Korea. This has been manifest in a tangled policy discourse, where creativity is fused with innovation and design and is also tangled up with new developments in the global economy – business entrepreneurship, media communications and new technologies, along with social models of labour (the creative class).

What is noticeable here is the gap between theory and actual practice, and the cultural differences between the West and the East. Issues raised in this chapter can also be found in other Korean cultural products, such as popular cultural products and creative urban clusters. With this in mind, the next chapter will examine the ways in which Korean cultural products are affected by the gap noted above, and the ensuing problem of South Korean identity.

## **Chapter Four**

### **South Korean Identity and the Creative Worker**

Korean popular cultural products, particularly the Korean Wave, have gained increasing popularity both in Asia and in the West. This chapter will first study the Korean Wave, which as a foundational concept of the DMC (Kim, 2014a) warrants particular analysis for its prominent role in the cultural identity crisis that followed the commingling of eastern and western cultural products and policies.

Subsequently, this chapter will examine the creative worker in the South Korean context and the impact of creative workers on the landscape of Seoul. The analysis will take a qualitative approach so as to uncover the extent to which Western theories of creative talent are compatible with strategies derived from a South Korean context, and the validity of applying western theories to South Korea. Keeping in mind the dominance of large conglomerates (*'chaebols'*), in almost every aspect of life in South Korea, as well as the government's strong policy intervention, this chapter observes how this particular context affects Korea's creative worker discourse and how it affects the shaping of the urban landscape differently to Western examples such that a city landscape distinctive to Seoul is firmly established. This

section demonstrates how the local context of South Korea was manifest in the urban landscape of Seoul in dialogue with Western influences, and why the globally shared Western urban cultural framework cannot be applied to Seoul without adaptation.

#### **4.1 The Korean Wave, the DMC and South Korean Identity**

It is clear that the CCIs in South Korea have become gradually more valuable through a synergistic economic effect, reaching a value of 85.5 billion US dollars in 2013 (CNTV, 2014), an increase from 328 million US dollars in 2001 (MCT, 2002). This is impressive rise considering that South Korea has experienced an intense period of colonial occupation, war, modernisation and rapid economic development all within the twentieth century. Despite astonishing economic growth and the flourishing of CCIs in a short period of time, South Korea nonetheless encountered criticisms that claimed that many of its successful products were the result of westernisation. Such criticisms precipitated a cultural identity crisis resulting from the economic boom.

##### **4.1.1 *Popularity of Korean Wave under the influence of Western Culture***

*Pretty Woman*, the 1990 US movie, was remade in 2004 as a South Korean soap opera called *Lovers in Paris*. The remake was the biggest hit in South Korea in that year, and soon became popular in the wider Asian region. To Asians in their teens or twenties, *Lovers in Paris* came to be much better known than the original movie. This phenomenon provides a salient example

through which to investigate which aspects in the Korean version of the US movie attracted more popularity in Asia than the Hollywood film.

#### (i) The Rise of the Korean Wave

The term Korean Wave (*Hallyu* in Korean) was coined by the Chinese media in the mid-1990s to describe the rapid influx and sudden popularity of Korean popular cultural products in China (Hogarth, 2013), such as Korean television dramas, Korean pop music, movies and their associated celebrities. Today, the Korean Wave covers a wide range of cultural products from food, music and fashion, even including the Korean style of cosmetic surgery, which had long been eclipsed by the pop culture of Tokyo and Hollywood (Visser, 2002). Today it reaches further than Asia, to Europe and the US.

The television drama *What is Love All About?* was the catalyst for the surge in popularity of Korean cultural products around 1997 in China, and it became a sensation after being broadcast on the China Central Television Station (CCTV). The drama received the second-highest viewing ratings in the total history of Chinese television (Heo, 2002). Korean television dramas have, since then, rapidly spread and gained significant public interest across Asia in countries such as Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia, where liberal media existed in the 1990s (Shim, 2011).

The Korean Wave did not receive much attention or critical acclaim from academics a decade ago – for instance, Shim (2011) indicates that Korean cinema was not mentioned in the 1996 edition of *The Oxford History of World*

*Cinema* (Nowell-Smith, 1996). The Korean Wave has now, however, garnered attention from not only the diverse world media (The Korea Herald, 2008; Hogarth, 2013), but also numerous academic researchers (Cho et al., 2003; Cho, 2005; Dator and Seo, 2004; Shim, 2011; Yin and Liew, 2005, etc.). In the mid-1990s, the criticism and scepticism concerning the long-term future of the Korean Wave (Cho et al., 2003; Chu et al., 2007) began to dissipate, and research has ranged further afield (Chang et al., 2006). The study of the Korean Wave in Korea has largely concentrated on the progress of the phenomenon in China and Japan. According to Hogarth (2013), there are three reasons for this: first, the Korean Wave began primarily in China; second, China is the largest and possibly the most profitable market; and lastly, Japan is the richest consumer marketplace in Asia.

The economic crisis in 1997 presented another opportunity for expanding the reach of Korean cultural products. The Asian financial crisis created a situation in which cheaper cultural products were preferred amongst Asian buyers, and since Korean television dramas carried one quarter of the cost of Japanese dramas, and a tenth of the cost of Hong Kong dramas in 2000 (Lee, 2003), they were circulated in the market for this reason. In the meantime, the Korean government supported and injected a huge amount of money into boosting Korean pop music CDs in Asian countries, primarily China, in order to repay debts to the IMF. Amongst young audiences the music quickly attracted attention for its contemporary style.

## (ii) The Popularity of the Korean Wave

The popularity of the Korean wave has been proven by its significant impact on the Korean national economy through exports of its goods and increased tourism (Yu et al., 2005; Shin 2006; Kim Sui, 2006; Pang, 2007; KOFICE, 2009). The value of the nation's CCIs reached 85.5 billion USD in 2013, and from 2008 to 2012 it increased by nearly 19 percent a year (CNTV, 2014). Revenue came not only from the products, but also related commodities such as fashion, food, cosmetics, cosmetic surgery and cultural tourism. With the popularity of Korean products in Asian countries, Korean celebrities connected to these cultural products became influential on the consumer culture of Asia through food, fashion, make-up trends, and cosmetic surgery. Some Korean actresses such as Lee Young-ae, Song Hae-gyo, and Jeon Ji-hyun have been described as aspirational for women in Taiwan and China, who ask for their facial features to be altered to resemble these actresses through cosmetic surgery (Joins.com, 2001; *Straits Times*, 2002a and 2002b). Norimitsu Onishi states that approximately 80 percent of Taiwanese tourists to South Korea select television-themed tours to sites where the most popular dramas were filmed (*New York Times*, June 28 2005). The Korea National Tourism Organisation (KNTTO) has been developing its programme for inbound tourists (*Yonhapnews*, 2013) and Korean cosmetic surgeons have become sought after by consumers from China, Vietnam and Singapore. This is now referred to as the Korean Wave in cosmetic surgery (Kim, 2009).



The Korean Wave originated in the East, and there were numerous concerns around its long-term sustainability from the beginning. However, in recent years the Korean Wave has further extended its export market beyond Asia to the US and Europe, with films such as *Oldboy*<sup>22</sup> (2003), and *Snowpiercer*<sup>23</sup> (known as *Seol-guk-yeol-cha* in Korean, 2013) and the song, *Gangnam Style* by Psy, which rapidly gained popularity amongst existing and new K-pop fans across the world, its music video passing two billion views on YouTube in May 2014.

### (iii) Reasons for the Popularity of the Korean Wave

It remains to clearly identify the key reasons for the increasing prominence of Korean popular cultural products across Asia and beyond, alongside the influx of western culture during industrialisation and modernisation. Along with notable scholars, I could identify two primary reasons -- among the many secondary elements, which include skillful story-telling (Choe, 2007), high product quality (Larsen, 2008), and low cost combined with aesthetic quality (Hogarth, 2013).

The first key reason in the popularity of the Korean Wave I find both credible and relevant to this thesis investigation concerns the combination of locality and universality. Many researchers argue that the success of the Korean

---

<sup>22</sup>*Oldboy* is a cult film based on Japanese manga directed by Park Chan-wook. The film was awarded and nominated at numerous film festivals such as the Cannes Film Festival, the Asian Pacific Film Festival, and the Korean Film Awards, and remade by American film directed by Spike Lee.

<sup>23</sup>*Snowpiercer* is a science fiction film based on a French novel, directed by Bong Joon-ho. It was screened at the Deauville American Film Festival, and 64th Berlin International Film Festival.

wave in the global market derives from the cultural hybridity arising from a conflict between traditional culture and modern values. Examples invoked to support this argument have primarily consisted of television drama and films (Cho, 2005; Shim, 2006; Ryoo, 2008; Jung, 2009). Cho Uhn (2005b) offers evidence for the vitality of the Korean Wave in the hybrid culture that blurred the boundaries between national or indigenous and global cultures. In this assertion, the Korean Wave was made possible because South Korean cultural products were successful in adapting globalised culture for Asian local markets. The local culture of South Korea shares many attributes with other Asian cultures because they have been heavily influenced by Chinese culture, for instance the Confucianist tradition, for over a thousand years. Such products reflect an Asian ethos and value system that is largely based on Confucian-oriented traditions, such as family-centrism, respect for elders and loyalty. In particular, Hogarth (2013) argues that the Asian conception of modesty is a significant element that contributed to the sensation caused by Korean dramas in China at the origin of the Korean Wave. In contrast, the universal culture of contemporary times, that of materialism and consumerism, continues to be incorporated into South Korean cultural commodities. This universal culture has a corresponding locality that arouses Asian people's sympathy: for instance, modesty endures as a prized quality in fictional characters, but is adapted into a modern image. Women are portrayed as independent-minded, high-principled and courageous in their conviction, while men are often depicted as gentle, romantic, and uxorious husbands. During the rapid modernisation (which was also a

Westernisation)<sup>24</sup> of Korea, people (particularly women) experienced a conflict of identities and this phenomenon was reflected especially in television dramas. Kim (2003) argues that these characters appealed to Asian female viewers due to the fact that Asian society has long been male-dominated. Furthermore, the products not only embraced both traditional Korean culture and western-oriented globalised culture, but also played a role as a modification and filtering of cultural dissimilarities within the (non-local) universal popular culture.

The second key reason in the success and cultural power of the Korean Wave was made possible with the aid of South Korea's rapid development of information technology and its active marketing strategies towards becoming a knowledge-based economy since the late 1990s. With such fast-growing technological development, particularly in the fields of information technology such as high-speed internet service and DMB (Digital Multimedia Broadcasting), the Korean Wave gained momentum and succeeded in spreading its cultural products beyond the territorial boundary of South Korea at a rapid pace, and on a large scale. For instance, the popularity of the song *Gangnam Style* by Psy spread to the US and Europe with great speed through the advanced ICT infrastructure as well as the enthusiastic users of social networking services in Korea. Furthermore, with the high level of broadband usage, the interaction between consumers and producers was

---

<sup>24</sup> Wood (1997) argues that globalisation, regarded as a mere geographic term, is imperfect as a description of the present era. Rather, it can be portrayed as the universalisation of capitalism, which has infiltrated into every facet of life in society and culture.

effectively facilitated, resulting in an overall improvement in the quality of South Korean cultural products, and their enhanced popularity throughout Asia. The CEO of South Korean record label Cube Entertainment, Hong Seung-sung, stated that the higher quality of music video is now a significant factor, since one video uploaded to YouTube can receive ten million views in ten days (Kim, 2012b). Hogarth (2013) asserts that Korean entertainment agencies (such as S.M. Entertainment<sup>25</sup>) have acknowledged ICT as a vital method of spreading K-pop internationally, a phenomenon that has been launched and heavily promoted via YouTube. At present, most K-pop celebrities' performances are available on YouTube for free, making them accessible to viewers worldwide. Korean cultural companies applied this strategy in order to overthrow the dominant conventional distribution system of music commodities in the global market.

Furthermore, South Korean entrepreneurs' marketing strategies remained highly conducive to creating a virtuous circle, by using popular cultural products to advertise other related products, promoting tourism and enhancing the national image. All of this served to generate more visibility for South Korean popular culture. For instance, South Korean exports were boosted by commercials starring internationally renowned entertainers. Even those companies not directly related to the Korean Wave presented music CDs and DVDs, made in South Korea, to their overseas business partners.

---

<sup>25</sup>S.M. Entertainment is a Korean entertainment business company.. The company is a home for numerous Korean pop stars and singers such as Boa, Super Junior, Girls' Generation etc., famous across Asia.

As the Korean Wave became widespread, foreign companies also took advantage of the popularity of South Korean culture. For example, KFC in Taiwan sold a new burger branded Kimchi, a traditional Korean food. The storyline of its TV commercial was based on the South Korean television drama *Daejanggeum*.

#### **4.1.2 *The Korean Wave, DMC and Cultural Identity***

In the nineteenth century, globalisation developed in the aftermath of colonialism, which was chiefly Western-oriented, with non-Europeans attempting to imitate their colonial masters (Hogarth, 1999). South Korea, due to its Japanese colonisation in the beginning of the 1900s, was heavily influenced by Japan, and the 'second-hand' western culture that arrived through Japan. Since the late nineteenth century, Western culture continued to permeate South Korea and this gathered pace after the Korean War with its overtones of capitalism and commercialism, which significantly affected the everyday lives of people. These cultural shifts intensified after 1998, with the far-reaching consequences of the 1997 South Korean financial crisis and the nation's recovery, when neo-liberal socio-economic policies were enacted by the government under the policy guidelines of US-dominated international institutions such as IMF and the World Bank. Subsequently, the traditionally authoritative and paternalistic culture of South Korea yielded to an increasingly liberal culture.

As the identities of the South Korean people grew closer to those of the

United States, the cultural producers of Seoul began to reflect more liberal identities in soap dramas and films. In this process of permeation, the way of life of the people and the traditional character of Korean culture, including Confucianism, has declined. Media and culture theorist Douglas Kellner (1992) has argued that in traditional societies, one's identity is generally determined by social circumstances and class, and remains fixed and stable; whereas the era of postmodernity is subject to different, more dynamic, material conditions. Speaking about Western culture since the 1960s, Kellner observes how a person's identity increasingly became subject to their position in, or interaction with, a market-based popular culture; identity became 'multiple' and self-reflexive, where increased social mobility and the consumption of style and fashion, empowered individual choice. A similar observation could be made with reference to the Korean people and Asian markets for Korean popular cultural products, since the 1960s. South Korea has consequently experienced a protracted conflict between traditional and modern (or Western) identities and this conflict has had a significant impact on the reconstruction of identity on both a national and an individual scale.

Some critics regard the Korean Wave as a transnational cultural flow that challenges Western cultural hegemony, claiming that Asia is no longer dominated by western popular culture and that Asian consumers now prefer products exhibiting Asian values and sentiments (Park, 2001). Therefore, the popularity of Korean popular culture in Asia has produced a positive symbolic meaning in postcolonial Asia, not just for Korea but also for wider Asian

society. However, the existing research literature lacks an emphatic investigation of the possibility that the Korean Wave is, in fact, helping to disseminate western cultural hegemony throughout Asian regions rather than helping Asian nations to develop their own cultural identity. Here I borrow the term 'semi-periphery' from Wallerstein (1974): the semi-periphery, situated between the core and the periphery, serves to stabilise the world system, turning it into a buffer that absorbs the shock between the two. In the dissemination of hegemony, the semi-periphery plays a major role as a buffer or bridge upon which the global cultural hegemony can gain consent in local regions.

Scrutiny of the format, images and figures of South Korean cultural commodities, as noted through a range of scholar's research, indicates that the Korean Wave has successfully modified Western cultural products to suit the tastes of Asian markets. Further, the Korean Wave reflects the desires of Asia's rapidly rising middle class, who are 'eager to transform their (and their parents') economic capital into cultural capital using notions of 'individuality' and 'distinction' in order to construct their identities' (Kim, 2001, cited in Cho, 2005). Thus it can be seen that the Korean Wave has worked as an intermediary through which western cultural hegemony is extended to every corner of the Asian region, and where it facilitates changes of identity into more global manifestations, or indeed, Westernised ones, as was the case with Japan in the early modernisation period.

Just as the social patterns, everyday lives and identities of Asian (including Korean) people are influenced by western culture, the western influence has initiated changes in the urban landscapes of Asia, as explained in Chapter Two. The DMC utilised the idea of the Korean Wave as a foundation for establishing its overarching concept. The DMC planners adopted the nation's competitiveness in the ICT industries, combined with cultural products showing strong support for the cultural policy that drove the DMC project. Further, by selecting M&E and ICT – the core industries of Korean Wave – as the specialist industries of the DMC, creating a distinctive character and identity of the DMC against other industrial parks has been attempted. The DMC district is now, therefore, a synthesised adaptation of the Korean Wave that embraces the entire industrial process from production to consumption to distribution (see Chapter Five for further analysis). It seems that the Korean Wave, which began with Korean popular cultural products, has now broadened into an urban formation. At the same time the DMC, as the nation's first creative cluster built with the help of western theory, has embraced the western urban framework and attempted to bridge the East and West. It is not only creative products but also products of urban place formation, or by extension the creative products in urban formation, that have promoted a unique identity in the global market. However, apart from the fact that there are similar creative clusters sharing the same insights across the world, it also questionable how far Korean Wave itself addresses the question of its own identity.



The globalisation process paradoxically encourages indigenous cultures to survive in the global marketplace by seeking 'local' culture that has been overlooked during western-dominated modernisation (Featherstone, 1993; Robertson, 1995). It has been argued by researchers that a distinctive cultural identity can promote competitiveness in an international market (Deng, 2005; Tomlinson, 1997) and such acknowledgements have contributed towards an intensified urge to enhance cultural identity. Therefore, although simple cultural preservation is not the solution for fast-changing contemporary society, more investment must be made in building a strong identity to support the long-term sustainability of the Korean Wave and DMC.

#### **4.2 Creative Workers, Policy Intervention and the Creative 'Cluster-Scape' in Seoul**

As I have been emphasizing, like the CCIs, creative workers and their relationship to the urban landscape of Seoul's creative cluster demonstrate the combination of local particularities with western influences in the broader context of globalisation. The aspiration to become a global city based on local foundations is present in several 'cultural/creative' districts of Seoul. In the process of developing the creative cluster of Seoul (and also the urban development of Seoul as a whole) along with a renewed industrialisation and modernisation, there have been extensive state interventions in a broad social structure context. Intervention has led to the ambivalent condition of Seoul's creative cluster-scape, importing western ideas of urban and cultural theories while simultaneously attempting to preserve and enhance local

identity – all for the wider purpose of promoting South Korea's competitiveness. In this context, by observing the different types of creative cluster at diverse scales (from business-commercial districts to cultural quarters and artist-led creative clusters; from planned creative clusters to organically grown creative clusters), I have divided creative workers in Korea into two main types; *creative worker (A)* that comprises individuals and small-scale businesses who work in the CCIs; and *creative worker (B)* that includes large-scale companies, or *chaebols*, in the CCIs. In establishing these categories, this thesis analyses how these two different types of creative worker, and their relation to the urban place of Seoul, have very different impacts on the changing urban landscape.

#### **4.2.1 Creative Class Theory in the Korean Context**

The definition of the creative worker can differ according to the scale of a business. In the scholarly literature there are two main perspectives: on the one hand, the *firm-oriented approach* (industry approach) that addresses regional clusters of creative and cultural companies on the basis of the path-dependent urban production systems; on the other hand, there is the *artist-oriented approach* (occupational approach) of Currid (2007) and Markusen and Schrock (2006). There have been numerous attempts to define the term 'creative class' in Korea along with growing attention on the concept, which is identified in diverse ways. Kim Yu-mi (2009) concentrates on the occupational approach, and Kim and Yeo (2009) adopt the industry approach, focusing on the CCIs and ICT industries. Kim Tae-kyung (2010) classifies

Florida's creative class division by occupation according to the industrial code of Korea. First, in the 'super-creative core' category, the science and engineering sectors are compatible with the technology industry – Kim (2010) modified the Tech-pole Index studied by the Milken Institute for the Korean technology industry. The art and design sector is compatible with CCIs, and Kim (2010) derives this category from the Cultural Industry White Paper (2008) published by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea. In terms of the creative professional category, the knowledge-based workers such as those in the business, finance, and legal sectors are associated with the production and service industry. The production and service industry category is based on the Korean Standard Industrial Classification Table. As discussed, this thesis adopts the Markusen et al. (2008) definition of creative workers and divides it into two main categories creative worker (A) and creative worker (B), due to the unique historical, social and cultural background of the *chaebols* in connection with state intervention in South Korea.

Along with the endeavour to define the creative class, numerous researchers have attempted to conceptualise and identify Florida's creative class theory in the Korean context. However, several difficulties were exposed in importing the concept directly into the Korean context, due to certain incompatible factors with the US context. Lee and Oh (2011) investigate the possibility of applying Florida's creative class theory in Korea through *wage structures*. In their article, the average wage in the art and culture sector is

lower than the average salary of other sectors of the CCIs in Korea. According to Florida's theory, in economic terms, this means that the art and culture sector is not as attractive as it is in the US, where incomes in the art and culture sector tend to be higher than the average (Lee and Oh, 2011). Again, there is less possibility that creative talent is equated with a higher quality of skilled labour in the Korean art and culture sector. In Korea, the creative class as an essential resource for economic development in a city may not be as powerful as Florida claims.

Second, a variable from Florida's work occurs in the Korean context with regard to the 'gay index' and 'bohemian index,' used as a measurement of the openness and tolerance of cities. The hedonistic attitude implied in these criteria conflicts with the conventional Asian values associated with Confucianism and Korean values of diligence, modesty and simplicity. For instance, Florida's measurement of the numbers in the 'gay index' are derived from coupled, same sex households, residing in a specific area. However, in Korea it is difficult to measure the number of gay people as attitudes are more conservative than in the US; homosexuality is not openly discussed and gay people are afraid of openly cohabiting (Rohan, 2013).

Kim (2012) also claims a critical stance towards adapting the concept in Korea, investigating the locational preference of the Korean creative class. Kim (2012) points out that the number of cities in which creative workers can select in the US is many more than the number of cities in Korea. Besides,

intercity competition is not as high as in the US, and in Korea most of the creative talent is accumulated in Seoul (Shin, 2006). The majority of South Korea's culture industries are embedded in its capital city, and Seoul has a population of approximately 11 million, about a quarter of the whole population of the country (Kostat, 2010). Asheim (2009) asserts that the labour market is distinguished and governed by region in the United States, whereas South Korea has a single, united and common culture at the national level. Therefore, the locational preference of Korean creative workers cannot necessarily be correlated with the choice offered to creative workers in the US. Therefore, even though the Korean government has imported the concept of the creative worker and placed it at the centre of creative city discourse, it is challenging to identify resultant changes in the Korean professional class. Seoul is already a city that attracts Korean creative workers. Recently, Park Geun-hye's government emphasised the generation of creative labour not by inviting creative workers from outside, but attempting to cultivate the value of creativity in education and entrepreneurship (Connell, 2013).

Although, Kim and Park (2010) share the view that a high density of creative workers tends to generate higher innovation and tolerance, I argue that such outcomes vary according to the different types of creative workers and their relationship to their nation's historical, social and cultural particularities. As Seoul has a high density of creative workers, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate this issue as a whole, but I will address the relationship

between creative workers and urban landscape with a place-based approach to several creative clusters in Seoul.

#### **4.2.2 State Intervention and the Creative Cluster-Scape in Seoul**

After the liberation of Korea, a high priority in all policy areas was economic growth alongside national development, and as a result the state managed to achieve rapid economic development. In 45 years, South Korea's GDP per capita has risen to over 12,000 USD (Worldbank, 2006). During the process, the government-led urban space policy was systematically promoted with the goal of restructuring the urban environment to support economic development: this led to rapid urbanisation (Kwon and Um, 2008). The developmental state of Korea with its condensed urbanisation and industrialisation fundamentally transformed the nation's city-scape since 1960. In addition, the robust state intervention with its clear aim of economic and political advancement has had a significant impact on the urban landscape, including the diverse creative districts in Seoul.

##### **(i) Yeouido (Yeoui Island) Creative District: Business-Commercial Type**

Yeouido is a creative district (business-commercial type) where large businesses and investment banking are clustered, located in the Yeongdeungpo-gu (district) of Seoul as a large island (in the Han gang (River)). Yeouido was not initially planned as a creative cluster at the outset, but was intended to be a large square similar to *Tiananmen Square in China* (Cheon, 2000) *as an expansion of Seoul within the urban policy scheme.*

Through state intervention and political interests, the district has become an agglomeration of businesses, in particular numerous financial services such as the Korea Financial Investment Association, major stock companies in Korea such as the headquarters of LG<sup>26</sup>, Hyundai Securities<sup>27</sup>, and Samsung Securities<sup>28</sup>, and other businesses such as the 63 Building (officially Hanhwa 63 City)<sup>29</sup> the headquarters of KBS<sup>30</sup> and National Assembly Building, amongst others.

After the Korea's liberation in 1960, urban planning began in earnest in South Korea, and especially in Seoul. A five-year economic development plan by the Park Chung-hee government was implemented in 1962, during which, despite an increase in total population, the rural population decrease and the city absorbed the additional population. Jung (1996) claims that Yeouido was the outcome of the first modern urban planning strategy as a planned cluster in Seoul in the 1960s, to address the problems then facing the city. The key agents in the Yeouido planning were architect Kim Su-keun of KECC (Korea Engineering Consultants Corporation)<sup>31</sup> and then mayor of Seoul, Kim Hyun-ok, along with other public officials of the SMG (Jung,

---

<sup>26</sup> LG stands for 'Life's Good' and previously 'Lucky Goldstar'. LG is the fourth-largest chaebol (multinational conglomerate) in South Korea.

<sup>27</sup> Hyundai Group is a *Chaebol* in South Korea founded by Chung Ju-yung in 1947. Hyundai Securities offers comprehensive financial services such as brokerage, asset management, corporate finance, etc.

<sup>28</sup> The Samsung group is the largest, a multinational South Korean business conglomerate headquartered in Gangnam, Seoul. It contains various subsidiaries and affiliated businesses. Samsung Securities offers personalized asset management service to personal investors via various products, solutions, and brokerage service.

<sup>29</sup> 63 Building is a skyscraper built as a landmark of Seoul for the 1988 Summer Olympics.

<sup>30</sup> KBS stands for 'Korean Broadcasting System'. KBS is one of the three largest public broadcasting companies in South Korea together with MBC, SBS.

<sup>31</sup> KECC is a corporation that was in charge of Han River regeneration for around 40 years that offer their service for both the public and the private.

1996). Kim Hyun-ok was a key investor in driving the Yeouido planning through Kim Su-keun's work, and Yeouido was accomplished through the course of three Master Plan reports between 1968, 1969 and 1971 (ibid).

The primary aim of the urban planning for Yeouido was Seoul's linear expansion, the city's 'manhattanisation' and stereogram, and geometric urban structure zoning that is inspired by urban planning frameworks from the west and Japan. Kim Su-keun adopted the western concept of 'linear city' theory<sup>32</sup> with the intention that Yeouido would act as a hub in a linear city connecting Seoul and Incheon<sup>33</sup> and also as an extension of Seoul. Moreover, the idea of manhattanisation and stereogram<sup>34</sup> was attractive to urban planners in 1960s South Korea due to its efficient land use, since overcrowding and land-scarcity were then threatening Seoul. Meanwhile, during that time, the most important urban planning issue for the SMG was the regeneration of the Han River. Thus the adopted linear city theory and the Seoul City General Plan (published in 1966) including Han River Comprehensive Plan and Metropolitan Area Extensive Town Planning (1967) were fused and progressed together. During the process, new ideas around city clusters, mobility, architecture, growth and change became increasingly prominent.

---

<sup>32</sup> Linear City theory is proposed by Spanish urban planner Arturo Soria y Mata in the late 19 century and later developed by the Soviet planner Nikolay Alexandrovich Milyutin. Linear City is urban plan for an stretched urban formation that the city would be made up of a series of functionally distinguished parallel sectors with segregated zone for railway lines at the central axis (see Benevolo; 1977).

<sup>33</sup> Incheon is referred as officially the Incheon Metropolitan City located in Incheon Metropolitan City neighboring Seoul and Gyeonggi to the east.

<sup>34</sup> The idea of manhattanization and stereogram of a city was commenced by western modern architects during 1930, and actualized around US.



Meanwhile, the process of forming the business district of Yeouido commenced with the change of government strategy for the land. The area was originally planned as a public land development, but this plan was abandoned when the government was forced to appropriate funds for subway construction by selling the land (Cheon, 2000). *The land was sold by unit area of ten thousand pyong*<sup>35</sup> and the Korea Stock Exchange, the Korea Securities Dealers Association, and other stock firms secured *ten thousand pyong* and began shaping a stockmarket town (ibid.). In 2010, the SMG attempted to establish policies for making the area a financial hub of north-east Asia, and the area was designated a banking centre by the Financial Services Commission (SMG, 2014). In 2014, SMG announced further regulations to support the development of Yeouido as a banking centre.

Yeouido has been transformed as a creative district (with a broadened meaning of creativity) through constant state intervention regardless of its original intention, but rather for political interests and the ideological realisation of the priority of the economy. For instance, modern urban theory first appeared in Yeouido in South Korea in the mega structure concept and linear city theory. However, subsequent plans have been forced to make continual adaptations due to the fact that, at that time in South Korea, the most important consideration was not the quality of the city environment, but a logic of efficiency and economy (Jung, 1996). The change of land use was

---

<sup>35</sup> Pyong is land measure of six chuck( $\cong 1.8\text{mm}$ ) square in Korean.

also based on the prioritisation of economic factors. Accordingly, Yeouido was developed along completely different lines to its initial plan of land use, and failed to achieve a genuine connection between commercial, residential and business functions, resulting in a fundamentally haphazard district. It is, therefore, not a city form adopted from the west but is a modified outcome of a particular creative district in Seoul.

#### (ii) Hong-dae Creative District; Cultural-Creative Type

The Hong-dae area is named after Hongik University, which is renowned for its art college and is located in the Mapo-gu (district), north-west of Seoul. Together with the art college and Hongik University, the area is famous for its vibrant environment with urban amenities such as clubs, shops, cafés, galleries and art academies (Globe-trotter Travel Guidebook-Seoul, 2004). It is a hub for young artists, a residential area for creative workers since the 1980s, and now is the centre of Korea's nightlife with Seoul's idiosyncratic club culture (*VisitKorea*, n.d).

From the 1980s to the present, the area has changed to reflect new forms of culture and social actors in dialogue with the policy intervention implemented in the area. The Hong-dae district can, in fact, be considered to have achieved the aim set out by Florida (2002; 2005), offering a creative environment constituted of youth-friendly places, vibrant cultural scenes, street-level culture and an active nightlife. In Florida's coolness index<sup>36</sup>,

---

<sup>36</sup> Coolness index is to measure "the percentage of population between 22 to 29 (with

which measures the degree to which a place offers cultural life and amenities, the Hong-dae area would score highly, recognised as a 'cool' place with appropriate amenities for young people. From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, the district was active with exhibitions, film screenings, performances, a vibrant cafe culture (Ssamzie Space, 2000) and live music clubs emerging during the 1990s. In that decade, dance clubs began to lead the cultural scene of the district, with the numerous clubs ranging from rock music to electronica (Shin, 1996). In forming this 'creative' district, as in other parts of Seoul, the robust policy intervention in urban placemaking had a significant impact on the Hong-dae area.

In 1999, the Korea Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI, formerly the Korea Cultural Policy Institute) created the concept of a cultural district, derived from the idea of a cultural quarter. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT, 2005) defined a cultural district as a place where cultural facilities are concentrated or planned for construction, and where art and cultural activities (such as events and festivals) frequently take place under the Culture and Arts Promotion Law. The original intention for the policy around cultural districts was to preserve places with historical and non-economic value, and also to boost a cultural environment by organising cultural resources rooted in locality (KCTI, 1999).

Meanwhile, with the preparation for the 2002 World Cup, SI regarded the

---

points added for diversity), nightlife (number of bars, nightclubs, and the like per capita) and culture (number of art galleries and museums per capita)" (Florida, 2005, p. 94).

area as suitable for representing the “unique images and cultures of Seoul” (SI, 2000: 4), and proposed the designation of the area as the Hong-dae Cultural District (HCD). In the following year, the SMG announced a plan for HCD to promote the local cultural scene through the enforcement of its policy. More importantly, the SMG integrated the cultural district policy within the municipal aim of creating a ‘world city’ (see SMG, 2006) to enhance Seoul’s competitiveness. While the city government has focused on accommodating world-class urban infrastructures, vibrant culture through CCIs, and landmark sports facilities such as the World Cup Stadium in Sangam-dong (engaged with DMC project) since the early 2000s (Cho, 2010) to advance the world city vision, the Hong-dae area was used as a representative exhibition of Seoul’s unique local urban cultures. By connecting the HCD and the idea of the ‘world city’, the government attempted to further its economic interests through ‘local globalness’.

In order to utilise the Hong-dae culture as a demonstration of locality and cultural uniqueness within a ‘world city’ vision, SI used the expression ‘Korean-style techno club culture’ to describe the distinctive club scene of the Hong-dae area, a scene which combined western techno music with Korean popular music (SI, 2000: 115-16). Dance clubs were also promoted in order to present the district as a world-famous cultural product (ibid). This has been accepted as the city’s marketing strategy and in 2006, the SMG designated the area as a strategic district for the media industry (SMG, 2006).

However, the promotion of the HCD as a prominent nightclub scene led to the loss of some of its original character as a place of creativity and experimentation. The artists working in other sectors of the CCIs such as performing arts, fine art, design and popular music were excluded from the district due to the commercialisation and gentrification of the area, which increased rental costs (*Hangyeorae*, 2011). In 2011, Korea Performance Art Spirit (Kopas)<sup>37</sup> were forced to relocate from the office they had occupied for six years, because the rent had increased by more than five times its original cost. There were around five hundred arts organisations, related offices and individual ateliers in 2000, but the majority were turned into restaurants and bars, with only four art organisations remaining in 2011 (*Hangyeorae*, 2011). Previous descriptions of the Hong-dae area such as 'minor', 'streets of arts and youth', 'haven for culture' and as a place of creative diversity, are no longer applicable. Meanwhile, numerous concerns have arisen in the area regarding the increase in sex crime related to club culture of the 'creative' district. As explained in section 2.1.3, the government used the hosting of the 2002 World Cup for city marketing purposes, enhancing the nation's international reputation and image, and boosting tourism after the financial crisis in 1997 (SI, 2000). The Hong-dae area was used as a product for this government's marketing purpose.

#### **4.2.3** *Creative workers, gentrification, creative cluster-scape in Seoul*

---

<sup>37</sup> Kopas is an organization founded in 2000 around performance artists to develop the experimental art through various artistic experiment as well as communication and networking between diverse genres in Arts.

Along with the Seoul's creative-cluster-scape influenced by the policy intervention, the urban place is also affected by creative workers in Korea. Within the CCIs, the creative workers (A) who are individuals and in small-scale firms and those (B) who works for large-scale companies and *Chaebols* had different characters of working environment, and also affected creative cluster-scape in different ways.

(i) Gentrification, Creative Worker (A) and the Creative Cluster-Scape: the Case of Garosu-gil

Garosu-gil is known as a trendy part of the Gangnam area. Garosu-gil is a district in Gangnam-gu of Seoul known as 'Europe in Seoul', with numerous bars, restaurants and shops (Curley, 2011). Cheongdam's Fashion Street<sup>38</sup> is within walking distance of Garosu-gil in southern Seoul, linked by a main road (Kim, 2011b). However, Garosu-gil is distinguished from Cheongdam-dong by its unique atmosphere and the clustering of small-scale and individual businesses and shops. The international cuisine and well-known galleries consistently attract crowds.

The vibrant atmosphere of Garosu-gil emerged in the 1980s, when art galleries began to move into the district, such as Gallery Yeh (*VisitSeoul*, 2012), which still remains at the forefront of the Garosu-gil cultural landscape. Since then, a number of cultural facilities and amenities, such as galleries, antique shops and frame shops shaped the area, and these have been the

---

<sup>38</sup> Cheongdam's Fashion Street is famous for luxury fashion and known as Asia's Champs-Élysées for its high-end fashion and beauty salons.

backbone of Garosu-gil as an artistic district (Lee, 2010). Subsequently, in the 1990s emerging fashion designers who had experiences abroad began opening boutiques and launching their own brands, and the region began to build an identity as the “designer’s street” (ibid). As many young artists moved in and gathered in the neighborhood, small shops, restaurants and unique cafés followed.

The role of art and the artist and their relation to urban place have been extensively discussed within gentrification discourse, and the concepts of ‘culture’ and ‘capital’ have played a key part in this debate. Zukin (1988) views the victims of gentrification as those small-scale industrial and commercial firms, as well as their workers, whose presence is understood as nothing more than economic. She argues that, in the commodification of the artistic district, property and investment capital derives benefit from the milieu, turning the area into a cultural model for the living habits of the middle classes (ibid). Likewise, Garosu-gil began to be replaced by wealthy newcomers as the property prices, rent and premiums in the marketplace increased. For example, for ten pyong, the price was approximately 172,000 GBP (around 289,000 USD) in 2010, which was twice as high as in 2007 (Lee, 2010). In 2014, the rent increased by 41 percent per square foot between January and June (Kim, 2012c). The district has become gentrified with an immense influx of capital investment. As discussed previously, the salaries of creative workers in the arts and culture sector in Korea is lower than the average salary of other CCIs sectors. Therefore, the low-income

designers and small shop owners could not afford the increasingly expensive rents, resulting in the displacement of the creative workers (A). An emerging fashion designer, a creative director of S=YZ, a Korean fashion brand, (Song, 2014a) in Korea who launched her own brand and boutique in Garosu-gil in 2008, was forced to move out in 2011 purely due to financial challenges.

It was the creative workers (A) who first moved in to the unpopular, undeveloped area, yet with the flowing in of capital, the commercialised built environment left behind the creative workers (A). Creative workers (A) in Garosu-gil were not attracted by the immense investment of state-led regeneration policy. The policy also failed to attract other groups of creative workers, a phenomenon which Florida advocates would form a 'virtuous circle'. This was due not only to the expensive prices that creative workers could not afford, but also the loss of the unique artistic cultural landscape in the district, replaced by the standardised built environment which can be seen everywhere in contemporary cities. Ley (1996) asserts that artists are the pioneers of gentrification, suggesting that the "urban artist is commonly the expeditionary force for inner-city gentrifiers" (p.191). The creative workers (A) may be gentrifiers as Ley (1996) asserts, but ultimately the gentrified district does not belong to them, as Zukin (1988) argues. Meanwhile, the standardised landscape is, in fact, produced by another type of creative worker, (B) in Korea.

(ii) The Emergence of Creative Workers (B): Workers in Large-Scale



## Companies and Chaebols

*Chaebols*<sup>39</sup> have had an enormous influence not only in the global economy but also in Korean society and politics, and they are still a vital issue in political and economic discussion in Korea. It is therefore important to define these *chaebols* and explain their emergence in the Korean CCI. Today, the major *chaebols* in Korea play a critical role in the CCI at both national and global levels. Well-known Samsung subsidiaries involved in the CCI include Samsung Electronics,<sup>40</sup> Samsung C&T,<sup>41</sup> CheilWorldwide,<sup>42</sup> and Cheil Industries.<sup>43</sup> LG Corporation includes LG Electronics<sup>44</sup> and LG CNS<sup>45</sup> in CCI, and CJ Group<sup>46</sup> includes CJ subsidiaries comprising CJ CheilJedang,<sup>47</sup> CJ Entertainment and Media Corporation (CJ E&M),<sup>48</sup> and CJ CGV,<sup>49</sup> amongst others.

The chaebol system developed during the government of Park Jung-hee (1961-1979), with preferential treatment granted to particular large firms in

---

<sup>39</sup> 'Chaebol' is identified by three structural business characteristics: it comprises numerous affiliated firms operating in various industries; ownership and control of the group is by a dominant family, and the business groups share a vast percentage of the state's economy (Murillo and Sung, 2013). An affiliated company of a chaebol group is also under the direct control of the central planning office of the group, which again is controlled by the group's family members (ibid).

<sup>40</sup> Samsung Electronics is the world's largest information technology firm measured by 2012 revenue, according to *The Economist*.

<sup>41</sup> Samsung C&T is the world's 36<sup>th</sup>-largest construction company.

<sup>42</sup> CheilWorldwide is the world's 15th-largest advertising company measured by 2012 revenue.

<sup>43</sup> Cheil Industries is an affiliate Korean textile company of the Samsung Group which includes businesses in fashion, chemicals and electronic chemical materials.

<sup>44</sup> LG Electronics is the world's third-largest mobile phone maker in 2014.

<sup>45</sup> LG CNS is currently Korea's largest ICT service supplier.

<sup>46</sup> CJ Group is a conglomerate that includes many businesses in diverse industries from food and food service to entertainment and media, and home shopping.

<sup>47</sup> CJ CheilJedang is Korea's largest food firm, originally part of Samsung Group and separated in 1997.

<sup>48</sup> CJ E&M is Korea's entertainment and media contents firm.

<sup>49</sup> CJ CGV is Korea's largest multiplex theatre chain.

order to boost economic development. However, in the 1980s the *chaebols* expanded and became multinational, beyond the direct control of the state. The government of Kim Young-sam restructured policies from 1993 onwards with an acceptance of growing globalisation, which took the form of deregulating the financial industry and decreasing barriers to foreign investment (Chang, 1993). At the same time, Kim's government removed censorship of Korea's film and music industries, and moreover allowed access to foreign multinational companies (and *chaebols*) into the CCIs (Choi, 2011). Accordingly, the main *Chaebols* – Samsung, Hyundai, LG and SK – became involved in several sectors of the CCIs (Hamilton, 1991), and have begun to play a vital role in the CCIs in Korea. *Chaebols* have grown rapidly in the last five decades, not only in size but also in number in South Korea. Their dominant position in the Korean economy has become increasingly significant (ibid ).

		2009	2010	2011
<b>Asset/GDP</b>	<b>20 largest groups</b>	75.3%	78.6%	85.2%
	<b>5 largest groups</b>	46.5%	49.9%	55.7%
<b>Sales/GDP</b>	<b>20 largest groups</b>	75.3%	78.6%	85.2%
	<b>5 largest groups</b>	46.5%	49.9%	55.7%

Table 4.1 *Chaebols* and their shares within the Korean GDP (Source: adopted from KisLine, 2012)

### (iii) Creative worker (A), (B) and the Cultural-Creative Landscape of Seoul

After the swift rise in rental costs in Garosu-gil, the cultural-creative boulevards, trendy boutiques and hip bistros began to be incorporated into chaebol-affiliated brands and global franchise eateries. For instance, CJ

CheilJedang constructed CJ Town at the entrance of the Garosu-gil, a building with the CJ Foodville-brand.<sup>50</sup> As large conglomerates have expanded into the dining industry, individually-owned bistros struggle to survive in Korea (Kim, 2012c). CJ Town comprises Twosome Plus (a new-concept dessert café) on the first floor, Bibigo (a Korean bibimbap restaurant) on the second floor, Loco Curry (a curry restaurant) on the third floor, and Cheiljemyunso (a noodle restaurant) in the basement. Opposite CJ Town, food franchise School Food (a Korean style of street food) and Blooming Garden (an Italian restaurant) are located. All these brands are connected to large-scale companies (Kim, 2012c). Further down the street are a number of global fashion brands including Zara, Diesel and Lacoste, while OliveYoung (a retail franchise store for health and beauty) owned by CJ CheilJedang is located at the entrance of Garosu-gil, next to CJ Town. Across the street, a new rival health and beauty store, LOHB's, owned by Lotte Group (a multinational food and shopping conglomerate) is located, competing with OliveYoung for commercial supremacy.

As seen in the Hong-dae area, the cultural-creative landscape of Garosu-gil and its neighbours was transformed into a capitalist and standardised environment. Designer Song (2014a) says, "This place begins to lose its charm. The unique, avant garde atmosphere of Garosu-gil is disappeared. Individually-owned shops and restaurants find it hard to compete against

---

<sup>50</sup> CJ Foodville is a subsidiary of the CJ group that began with a bakery business and was Korea's main producer of sugar and flour before branching out into diverse restaurants such as 'family restaurant' chain VIPS, Korean restaurant Bibigo, etc.

large-scale companies". Hannigan (1998) argues that cultural elements, in this context, become mundane. These areas, which began with creative workers of individual and small-scale firms, were replaced with a dull, consumerised landscape due to the influx of vast capital from the other type of creative worker, large companies and *chaebols*. Now the district appears to revolve around consumerism, not the arts and design. The original, distinctive landscape was dimmed and can no longer be considered 'creative'. The two types of creative workers have shaped the cultural landscape of Seoul in different ways. One important conclusion to draw is that although the 'creative workers' are part of the creative industries, they have also been involved in the destruction of the colourful and diverse cultural/creative landscape of Seoul.

A critical understanding of urban development in terms of 'gentrification' in South Korea has only recently emerged. In fact, in both academic and policy discourse (for example, Kim et al., 2010) terms like 'redevelopment' and 'demolition' remain without any implicit or explicit critical understanding (Shin and Kim, 2015). The dominant literature on urban development is concerned with the positive benefits of the 'artistic district' model of the USA, revitalisation techniques of the European 'mixed district' (Mommaas, 2009), and 'new-build gentrification' (in a positive sense), such as London's Thames River construction (which nonetheless still generated displacement pressure on surrounding neighborhoods by exposing further development potential: see Davidson and Lees, 2009). Shifting the focus to Korea, as illustrated, the

local context of *chaebols* and the groups referred to as 'creative workers' in creative city discourse heavily influences the understanding, uses and valuations of the Korean urban landscape.

## **Conclusion**

The nation's main objective of achieving local globalness has permeated in South Korea's popular cultural products, in its creative city strategies, in the creative clusters of Seoul. The popularity of Korean popular cultural products in the global market is explained as a mixture of 'Asianness' and 'foreignness' (Chua and Iwabuchi; 2008) that has been developed with the state's firm support of specific sectors of CCIs as the engine of the nation's economic growth. Yeouido, the planned creative district in Seoul, was built by South Korean urban planners who modified existing western urban frameworks. The swift development of creative city strategies by Oh, Se-hoon's government in Seoul also occurred along similar lines. Its development began with adopting and learning western-oriented creative city policies and theories, and adjusting them to fit into the local context while advancing political interest and the city's economic development.

These examples were not purely following western examples, but were also heavily shaped by policy intervention at both local and national levels. This robust policy intervention affected Seoul's landscape of both planned and organic creative clusters. For instance, Yeouido a creative district, was designed during the 1960s under the military regime and plans for the district

changed in favour of political and economic interests. On the other hand, the Honadae area, an organically developed creative district, was also heavily affected by strategic policies resulting from the nation's aspiration to turn Seoul into a global leading city through branding and city marketing. The *chaebols* in Korea which had strong connection with the government had a huge impact on society, and on the CCI sector. The creative/cultural cluster landscape they built, and the landscape shaped by the individual and small-scale companies, were two contrasting outcomes in the urban landscape of Seoul.

Therefore, to further explore this complex fusion of East and West, and of theory and practice, the next chapter will present the methodology of this thesis in analysing the DMC as a creative urban place.

## Chapter Five

### Case Analysis Method and Methodology

This chapter is divided into two main parts: I will first establish an analytical framework for elaborating the case location, the DMC, and will then explain my research methodology. Before analysing the case location as a creative urban place, this chapter introduces the analytical criteria, based on the theoretical framework of Chapter Two and empirical factors derived from Chapters Three and Four. Based on the creative city discourse, this chapter utilises four basic empirical elements that have been identified as the ones most commonly employed in constructing a creative urban place (generating, as we have seen, a corporate rhetoric of global competitiveness): 1) creative people; 2) policy and management; 3) attractive physical place; and 4) creative activity. Additionally, considering the particular situation of Korea and the DMC, this chapter will develop other sub-criteria using specific principles to analyse the four basic elements. In establishing these sub-criteria, I chose to use the basic principles I set up to analyse the case location as a creative urban place, in terms of *symbolic expressions* and *narrative forms*. This is due to the fact that, rather than establishing another 'one-size-fits-all' indicator which will certainly not be fully applicable to other regional and national contexts, this thesis takes a qualitative approach in

order to develop an in-depth understanding of the DMC from historical, social, political, economical, cultural and spatial perspectives, in other words, the dimensions of the aesthetic, representation and meaning-construction omitted by the corporate urban design strategy of the adapted creative city framework.

This chapter then discusses the epistemology of the analytical framework, which combines theoretical and empirical research, using both a qualitative and quantitative approaches. Also, the empirical methods used in conducting the case study will be addressed, including the selection process of the case location and the limitations of the methods used. This discussion of research methods will establish the logic and the structure of the whole thesis, and will enable a better understanding of the case analysis presented in the next two chapters.

### **5.1 Literature Review: Mapping Criteria for Analysis of the DMC as a Creative Urban Place**

Though the concept of creative cities has had a vast influence upon, and gained popularity in, academic and political discourses (Costa et al., 2008), concerns surrounding the analysis of the complexity of this notion (Jensen, 2009) have arisen in spatial, political, economical and cultural discourses. Major themes revolving around creative cities in current literature are as follows: the 'new economy' (such as the cultural economy, creative economy and other forms of enterprise, such as high-technology industry), human



capital, cultural policy, new trends in placemaking (Vickery, 2011), urban design and architecture (e.g. Bontje et al., 2011; Cohendet et al., 2010; Comunian, 2011; Costa et al., 2008; Cunningham, 2012; Evans, 2009; Greffe, 2011; Grodach, 2012; Kagan and Hahn, 2011; Kong and O'Connor, 2010; Krätke, 2011; McCann, 2007; Ponzini and Rossi, 2010; Pratt, 2008; and Vivant, 2009, cited in Scott, 2014).

As indicated in Chapter Two, due to the complexity surrounding this definition, there has been ongoing confusion and differing uses of the words 'creative' and 'culture', much as the mixed use of the term 'creative' and 'innovation' (see Section 2.1). Thus, the distinction between cultural and creative activities in the framework of urban development, as demonstrated by Costa et al. (2008), needs to be fully considered. The Figure 5.1 is an apt way to distinguish the four main groups that identify cultural/creative territorial dynamics.

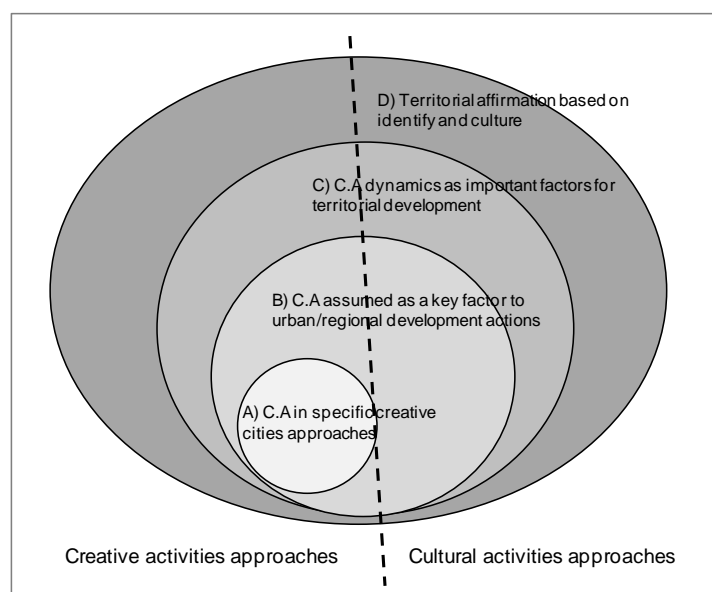


Figure 5.1 Main approaches to cultural/creative territorial development dynamics and strategies (Source: Adapted from Costa et al., 2008)

Costa et al. explains that group A, the core circle, consists of a set of approaches connected with explicit actions promoting the creative city, embracing the “three basic axes” of the conceptual construction of the creative city: (i) the creative city as a tool for urban development; (ii) bringing creative activities/industries into play; and lastly, (iii) creative human resources. Group B involves all types of experiences of cultural/creative activities as a resource of urban and regional development, such as cultural events, festivals, cultural sites and urban renewal operations. Group C has a wider perspective than group B, consisting of cultural and creative activities as essential elements for territorial development as well as competitiveness, irrespective of public action such as cultural clusters in urban development, territorial dynamics, or the local productive systems and innovative milieu, on the basis of cultural and creative resources. Lastly, group D takes into consideration culture in an extensive sense, encompassing all of the issues associated with urban and regional valorisation of identity and culture, such as the use of cultural identity as an asset and territorial images or city marketing aspects (Costa et al., 2008). Evans (2009), for example, conceptualises the differences between cultural quarters and creative industry quarters, in reference to economic, social and cultural rationales. He asserts that the *cultural quarter* focuses more on its regional roots and identity issues, whereas the *creative industry quarter* is more involved in diversified culture and the knowledge economy. Of course, this assertion is

grounded in an empirical generalization of largely western or European examples.

As much as the scope of the creative city has diversified in its interpretation and implications, there have been numerous attempts to systematise and structure the typologies of the creative city for a better understanding of its dynamics such as Costa et al.'s "three basic axes" for the conceptual construction of creative cities (2007), Landry and Wood's three factors for the magnetism of globally successful cities Florida's 3T formulations (see section 2.2.3) (2002), and Sasaki's indicators of the creative and sustainable city (2003) (see table 5.1).

Author	Indicator	Description
<b>Sasaki Masayuki</b>	Creative Talent	• Percentage of number of artist, scientist, skilled worker and their status of activity
	Quality of Life	• Abundance of city environment & amenity
	Creative Industries	• Changing industrial structure and number of company & employee in creative cultural industries
	Creative Infrastructure	• Number of facilities such as university, college, lab, theater, library, art museum and etc. and its utilisation
	Cultural Resource	• Number of cultural resource, utilisation and preservation of cultural assets for both materiality and immateriality which registered in public area
	Creative Activities of Artist Creators & Citizens	• Number of facilities & activity stage of NPO and level of politics participant of woman
	Governance	• Fiscal self-reliance ratio, quality and quantity of budget for culture, citizens participation & partnership
<b>Richard Florida</b>	Technology	• Innovation in region (number of patent) • Weight of high-tech industry
	Talent	• Concentration of people with bachelor's degree or higher • Ratio of creative class
	Tolerance	• Gay index – Ratio of gay couple • Bohemian index - Ratio of artistic & creative people • Melting pot index - Percentage of foreign born population
<b>Costa</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Centring the creative city notion on the idea of creativity as a toolkit for urban development</li> <li>• Basing the notion of creative city on the use of creative activities/industries (broadening the cultural activities perspectives)</li> <li>• Supporting the concept of creative city as the capacity to attract creative competences, that is, creative human resources</li> </ul>	

Table 5.1 Attempts to systematise dynamics of creative city (Source: Sasaki, 2003; Florida, 2002; Costa et al., 2008)

As many scholars have developed different definitions and perspectives, such attempts to simplify and formulate the complexity of creative city dynamism is important. As Zaki Laidi asserts, 'the complexification of the real creates the need for a simplification of its enunciation' (2007: 178) in order to react, respond and engage with it. In this thesis, I regard 'creativity' as a broad term in which cultural dimensions are embedded, rather than considering it as a separate dimension. The 'masterplan for the creative cultural city of Seoul' (explained in Chapter Three) shows that 'culture' is used as a major source of establishing creative city strategy in Seoul, which means it is a culture-oriented creative city even though it pursued creativity rhetorically in the implementation process. Culture is one of the major factors in building a creative urban place – a view shared with Landry and Sasaki, and yet the concept remains broad and in need of consistent qualification (see chapter Six for more details).

Among the many concepts revolving around the discourse of creative cities, such as creative human capital, creative cultural industries (CCIs), creative milieu/clusters/quarters, city marketing/branding, urban design, cultural creative activities, architecture and the built form of cities, to name but a few, as stated, I choose four generic elements to categorise the criteria for analysing the Seoul DMC district as a creative urban place: 1) policy and management; 2) creative people; 3) built form; and 4) creative/cultural activities considered from political, socio-economic, cultural, and visual-aesthetic perspectives. The criteria of policy and management, and creative

people (revolving around creative workers), will be analysed in relation to the DMC district, in terms of forming a creative cluster and becoming a creative milieu. The other criteria, built form and cultural activities, will be addressed with regard to the DMC area, showing how those categories form the visual/cultural landscape of the place from a placemaking perspective, together with a user-based approach to the district. The theoretical ground of the criteria is derived from emphasizing within creative city theories the 'placemaking' aspects, striving to induce a multi-dimensional and holistic approach in analysing creative urban place.

#### **5.1.1 Criterion for analysing case analysis location, DMC**

##### **Criterion 1) Policy and Management**

Interrogating the areas of both policy and management as a criterion for the analysis of the Seoul DMC is especially important for two reasons: firstly, as elucidated in Chapter Two, the creative city discourse is debated in explicit, 'top-down' policy language. Secondly, the DMC is a planned and newly built creative cluster, from a complete landfill area, and is led by a strong top-down approach. Thus, the government's role in establishing the district has been significant. As the area is designed and planned to serve the government's aim from the beginning stage of planning (explained in section 2.1), and the powerful policy-intervention has constantly penetrated Korean urban development (explained in section 4.2), which is still ongoing (including the DMC), the policy circle of the DMC needs to be investigated as a main part of this analysis. Also, the DMC district is managed by the Seoul

Business Agency (SBA), an affiliated organisation of the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG), though this is an exceptional case in Seoul. Thus, it is necessary to include the area of policy and management as a criterion in the analysis of the DMC.

### *Policy and Management in Urban Design/Placemaking Theories*

Producing successful and creative places requires good design. To deliver good design and maintain high quality development, an integrated policy approach and good management system is necessary. PPS article 'What is Placemaking' also describes placemaking as more than creating good design, assisting creative patterns of activities in addition to connections that support its ongoing evolution (PPS, n.d.). This implies the need for a policy and approach that addresses the importance of management.

Jacobs (1989) states that urban design issues are frequently interweaved with social as well as economic concerns, which in turn are associated with the quality of life. In this sense, urban design in city planning plays an ethical-political role, mediating healthy living, safety and public welfare, and large developmental issues to do with social justice, economic revitalisation and even childhood development (Barnett, 1974). A form-based category of urban public policy has also been raised by Kwartler (1998). It refers to the legislation of design quality, regarding what composes good urban form (space uses, amenities and public spaces etc.)

The policy circle of urban design is especially addressed in the bottom-up

approach. In the urban design sector, the two policy-based forms of intervention, top-down and bottom-up approaches to planning (Murray et al., 2009) continue to be major influences. The bottom-up approach is postmodern and communicative (Pissourios, 2014), and was introduced by the renowned scholar Jane Jacobs (1961), gaining widespread interest in the academic community since the 1980s. It was, however, in the late 1960s that 'bottom-up' planning emerged in the UK, through the work of Brian McLoughlin (1969) and George Chadwick (1971), creating a disjunction from the tradition of physical planning that considered urban intervention as mainly a design practice. Inter alia, the communicative nature of the bottom-up approach highlights the placemaking 'process'. PPS's article states that placemaking is a whole process that promotes the creation of essential public places. Further, it illustrates that genuine placemaking is activated when it is differentiated from the design of physical infrastructure, but rather, animated by aesthetics, the enjoyment of social conviviality, by nature or the material aspects of a place, and this in turn inform a reflexive understanding on how that place can be development among its inhabitants. This emphasis on process supports a highly 'political' approach to planning, sometimes generating normative decision making on the kinds of places people should, at a given point in time, rightly be living in.

#### Sub-criterion 1-1) Policy intervention: Top-down vs. Bottom-up

In the creative city context, Tallon demonstrates that the policy-led approach enables the development of orderly, long-term plans for managing cultural

assets, and support to the creative sector since it supplies a framework that accommodates the various needs and demands of the urban district (2010). On the other hand, he argues that the bottom-up approach, grouped with terminologies such as 'participatory', 'local democracy', 'community participation', etc., enables the interactivity and fluidity of creative practice. Also, this approach participates in the coherent view of culture and creativity as ends in themselves, not as instruments for economic ends, so that cultural productions with vernacular roots are less vulnerable to political change, property markets and macro-economic variables. This bottom-up approach is driven by individuals as well as companies rather than public policy (Mandanipour, 2011), from the informal interactions of everyday social and cultural life. On the other hand, the top-down, policy-led approach is driven by professional and institutional interests (Shorthose, 2004).

The weakness of the top-down approach has been plentifully discussed in creative city discourse and issues such as gentrification and social exclusion have been at the centre of the dialogue. Moreover, in planning discussions, Tallon criticises policy-led urban regeneration that is spatially and socially selective, favouring specific places and social classes (2010). Further, the top-down approach can incite bureaucratic interventions, imposing top-down solutions that can fail to meet the needs of the bottom sector, blocking the interactivity and fluidity that would nurture creativity.

On the other hand, with regard to drawbacks of the bottom-up approach, who



the community is, and the cultural distinctions between cities and nations in these communities, must be considered. Pissourios explains that the existence of a 'bottom level' is a fundamental necessity for the implementation of a bottom-up approach (2014). This means that it is important to know the willingness of participation in planning procedures. He also affirms that there is no 'bottom level' on certain planning occasions, for example, the planning of a new establishment or planning of a large city expansion (Pissourios, 2014).

In the case that the community is not willing to participate, he classifies this weakness with three dimensions: the implementation process is challengeable, facing certain obstacles; the efficiency of planning is in reverse proportion to the size of the community; and that it merely copes with spatial issues in relation to local interests, as well as consequences. Furthermore, within the planning discourse trajectory, which is prominent in the current placemaking and urban design field, the lack of typical and essential planning theory that can arise from the gap between urban planning theory and practice has also been debated (Alexander, 1997; 1999; 2010; Lauria, 2010; Pissourios, 2014). For instance, classification of urban uses, zoning practices, planning diachronically and the utilisation of planning standards that compose basic facets of urban analysis are utterly absent (Pissourios; 2014).

Although its important role has been raised by numerous scholars (Chapman

and Larkham, 1999; Landry, 2000) and it is significant to involve the social needs of the people who live there, the bottom-up approach cannot provide well-established urban planning practices such as vital elements of a planning theory or a methodology of urban intervention (Murray et al., 2009). Thus, Pissourios claims that top-down systems and rational planning theories inevitably remain the key guidelines of present planning practice (2014). The aforementioned weakness observed in the top-down approach of creative city discourse, and the strength of the bottom-up approach with its strong community participation, will be combined in this thesis as a thought-experiment in building a creative and healthy urban ecosystem. Therefore, this thesis will address the level of policy intervention in the DMC to see if it meets the desired level of intervention.

## Criterion 2) Creative people

The key scholars of creative city theory, such as Charles Landry, Richard Florida and Sasaki Masayuki, all place emphasis on creative labour and 'talent' in shaping creative cities. Although Landry and Masayuki focus more on qualitative and experiential aspects of creativity in comparison with Florida's emphasis on economic productivity, nonetheless creative human capital maintains the central principal and fundamental dynamic of a city's socio-cultural economic development. This can be further elaborated in terms of the migration of the creative worker to urban centres where a creative environment/milieu is in the process of formation, and that their presence is a catalyst in the combined levels of urban creativity and

economic dynamism to which that city attains (see Florida, 2002; 2005; Florida, Mellander and Stolarick, 2008). Yet, in their definition of 'creative people', these three authors have dissimilar views, and their difference is instructive. Landry's creative city philosophy includes the use of the people's imagination in the creative milieu, stating that creativity must inhabit all levels of a city's life (from government to street life). Creative people, he assumed, are anyone who attends to their work in inventive ways, whether social workers, business people, artists, public administrators and scientists. Florida argues that creative people are attracted to social habitat conditioned by 'the 3T's', and they further attract other talent-hungry industries that make for economic prosperity. His identification of a new social class (the creative class) has raised numerous criticisms by putting an elitist notion at the centre and advocating to make a city that revolves around a certain class of society, thus raising social tensions (see section 2.2). Sasaki meanwhile articulates in the paper, 'The Role of Culture in Urban Regeneration' (2004), the important role of craftsmanship and creative talent in urban development by drawing attention to two Victorian English scholars, John Ruskin and William Morris. Sasaki discusses the free, creative human activity described by Morris, which focuses on the intrinsic value of work, as opposed to labour ordered by another person, and Morris' arguments concerning 'humanisation of labour' and 'art-ification of everyday life', which focus on craft-like production on the basis of creative activities (p.3, cited in Sasaki, 2004). He not only emphasises creative talent, but also the activity and cooperation of citizens (Sasaki, 2004).

The high level of existence of the creative worker, encompassed by the CCIs as a leading part of the urban economy, and the creative milieu are regarded as key elements in defining the creative city (Girard, Baycan and Nijkamp, 2012). The scope of CCIs originating from creativity is, in general, placed in the cross-domain of arts, business and technology (Won, 2011). One of the foremost typical models embedded in the CCIs is the formation of cultural products, developed from diverse arts and culture together with the utilisation of IT (ibid) as explained in Chapter Two. Particularly, the tendency can be found in a number of Asian districts such as Singapore and the Chaoyang district in Beijing, which are developing their cities and clusters on the principle of overlap between culture and technology as a major part of CCIs in regional and national urban development (ibid), including the Seoul DMC.

However, there are two rationales behind my decision not to include the CCIs as a criterion in analysing the DMC area as a creative urban place. The CCIs will, in fact, be embedded in the analysis of the creative worker and their relationship to creative milieu. Firstly, in most creative city theories that emphasise the CCIs and the creative worker, in particular Florida's theory, more value is attached to creative 'talent' – for instance, it is creative workers that attract CCIs rather than the CCIs that invite creative talent. In Pratt's (2008) aforementioned division of four sectors in CCIs (see section 2.2), the first sector of 'original production' can be linked to Florida's criterion of a 'super-creative core' within the 'creative class'. In this context, the most

important aspect in the CCIs is the originality that is derived from human capital, as Pratt highlights the significance of the first sector that induces creativity. Florida affirms that the first question to be asked regarding the creative city is how long the city can be sustainable without encompassing creativity. As Florida advocates, CCIs can grow organically in the city when creative workers are present. In other words, a place to which creative workers choose not to migrate may never develop CCIs.

Secondly, The Seoul DMC is a strictly planned district, like one of the aforementioned cities that aims to combine culture and technology, and specialises in M&E (media and entertainment) industries as well as the IT industry. The targeted CCIs were attracted into the district and vigorously shaped by 'top-down' strategic policy, led by the SMG and newly organised the DMC Bureau. Accordingly, there was no organic process in shaping the CCIs cluster. As a consequence, the scope of the formation process of a cluster with CCIs will be addressed in the circle of policy making discourse, considering the boundary of its relationship with creative workers in the DMC and the role of CCIs in forming a creative milieu in this thesis.

While Florida concentrates on creative talent, other discussions embrace the wide-ranging concept of involving ordinary citizens (in particular, Landry, 2000) in forming a creative milieu. Although I agree with the view that creative class theory draws attention to particular social class, and the true creative urban place is necessary to involve its important assets, such as

ordinary citizens, this criterion concentrates more on a particular relationship between creative workers and the place. This is due to the fact that the DMC has already been designed and shaped by putting creative workers and CCIs at the centre.

#### Sub-criterion 2-1) Interaction and Location Preference

In terms of criteria for analysing creative workers in the DMC, this research will identify two tentative analytical points: the social networking and interaction between creative workers; and the preference of the location for creative workers. In creative city discourse, in relation to the discussion of creative workers, knowledge spillover, social networks and face-to-face interaction is emphasised by numerous scholars (Landry, 2000; Cooke and Simmie, 2005; Knudsen et al., 2008; Wojan et al., 2007) at various levels, including both formal and informal ways (as a means to stimulate innovation and creativity in a place). In particular, the informal interaction that captures the incidence of creativity is abundantly discussed. Emphasis on the high-density cities (Florida, 2005; Knudsen et al., 2008) can be read in the same vein as highlighting the significance of social networking. Recently, the issue of web-based social networking has also been raised as another form of interaction, which does not necessarily depend on the advantage gained from geographical concentration (Klepper, 2009). However, this thesis concentrates on the face-to-face interaction between creative workers to see how they shape the physical place of the creative urban place/milieu. The different levels of interaction between different types of creative workers (A),

(B) and (C) within the case location will be addressed.

As for the preference of the location, this point is justified in regards to involving creative workers in an area, especially in districts like the DMC, as it is shaped by a policy-led approach, not by the will of creative workers. There are numerous policy toolkits that indicate that creative workers are a necessary element for making the creative milieu and creative city. However, research, with regard to the investigation of creative workers themselves and their preference for location, is limited. Florida's assumption that commercial and entertainment industry infrastructures are significant factors required to attract creative workers still needs to be examined in broad empirical terms in order to establish its validity. In order to attract creative workers, the most important thing to be addressed is what they desire. Therefore, for future development and long-term sustainability of the district, it is important to explore the preference of location for creative workers in the DMC.

### *Criterion 3) Built Environment*

It is not surprising that Paris and Rome are ranked as the two most beautiful cities in Anholt's (2006) consultancy-style research, since the two cities have long been marked in the narratives of the world's most attractive cities. In table 5.2, it can be seen that more attractive cities, with beautiful cityscapes, tend to be more highly valued in terms of city brands. Cities such as Paris, Rome, Sydney and Barcelona, which are in the upper ranks in terms of their aesthetic qualities, are also ranked top in the overall hierarchy of city brands

as well.

Overall Ranking				The Beauty Parade				Stylish city Ranking	
No	City	No	City	No	City	No	City	No	City
1	Sydney	41	Rio de Janeiro	1	Paris	51	Dubrovnik	1	Paris
2	London	42	Buenos Aires	2	Rome	52	Havana	2	Milan
3	Paris	43	Beijing	3	Sydney	53	Johannesburg	3	New York
4	Rome	44	<b>Seoul</b>	4	London	54	<b>Seoul</b>	4	London
5	New York	45	Reykjavik	5	Barcelona	55	Mexico City	5	Rome
6	Washington DC	46	Budapest	6	Madrid	56	Dallas	6	Los Angeles
7	San Francisco	47	Shanghai	7	St Petersburg	57	Mumbai	7	Tokyo
8	Melbourne	48	Moscow	8	Amsterdam	58	Lagos	8	Madrid
9	Barcelona	49	Johannesburg	9	Prague	59	Nairobi	9	San Francisco
10	Geneva	50	Mexico City	10	San Francisco	60	Manila	10	Barcelona

Table 5.2 City rankings related to the Built environment (Source: Forbes, 2008; 2009)

Before the rise of placemaking in urban design tradition, movements like ‘City Beautiful’ and ‘Townscape’ established a predominant visual perspective on urban development and the visual-aesthetic dimension until the 1960s. Although the emphasis on the social usage of tradition arose after that era, acknowledgment of the justified importance of physical setting and built form still remained fundamental in urban design discourse, with the need of a top-down (in particular, a knowing designer-led) approach as explained above.

For instance, there have been numerous studies placing emphasis on the vital role of physical setting and built form of cities, including architecture, cultural amenities, building plots and public art, with designs arising from the creative city theories of Jacobs (1961), Florida (2002) and Landry (2000), and the urban design/placemaking theory frameworks of Canter (1977), Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998; 2003; 2008). In the discourse of



creative city theories the key scholars highlight built form and physical setting in a range of ways. Jacobs (1961) focuses on the diversity and vitality of built environment by drawing necessary conditions, putting mixed-use approach at the centre of planning, while Florida (2002), as we have noted on several occasions, discusses cultural amenities as tools for attracting creative talent, partnered with urban regeneration policy from the 1990s as in Gateshead in the UK. Landry (2000) focuses on the ambience of a place, which is attractive for people with a strong emphasis on culture (see section 2.3). Landry later developed his notion regarding the concept of a creative milieu, arguing that it is a physical response and reaction to a sociological requirement, describing a physical place “where people feel encouraged to engage, communicate or share” (Landry, 2009: 4). This claim transformed the idea of physical planning from pure functionality and quantitative requirements for public space into consideration of the intangible quality of a place (Jensen, 2009).

Emphasis on the importance of design in the planning process is also observed (Punter and Carmona, 1997). The perspectives on built form have not been developed merely as a visual-aesthetic aspect of building attractive landscapes but also work to ‘design’ the atmosphere of social space, social needs and the cultural identity of places. Landscape is not merely a visual background to life, but can be thought and theorized as the setting that articulates and affects cultural attitudes and meaning-creating social activities. Landscape is an expression of communally held beliefs and values,

and of interpersonal participation (Relph, 1976). It is critical to recognise not only the individual interaction with landscape, but also that any landscape is experienced in a communal context, as we are all individuals as well as members of society (Relph, 1976). In this context, I put forward a somewhat 'ideal' proposition, that landscape is both the context for places and a characteristic of places. Similarly, Knox and Ozolins (2000) claim that the built environment provides expression, meaning and identity to people's relationships with their surroundings, with signals guiding all types of human behaviour and symbols of political, social and cultural factors. Therefore, architecture or other components of the built environment of a certain period and type can turn out to be representative of their time, and every city can thus be 'read' as a multifaceted 'text' or narrative of things as well as symbols (Knox and Ozolins, 2000). Llewelyn-Davies (2000) and Dawson and Higgins (2009) state that, "Designs enhance the quality of people's lives, preserve the uniqueness of place, maintain vitality, ensure comfort and safety and create compatible developments with environment" (Scheer, 1994, in Dawson and Higgins, 2009: 3). Creating an attractive, visually pleasurable, safe physical setting is, of course, not the only principle to consider in planning creative urban environments, but should be a fulcrum for the decision-making on a range of other priorities (CABE, 2006).

#### Sub-criterion 3-1) Diversity and Authenticity in Placemaking

As explained in chapter Two, many cities across the world intend to be a 'creative city' or strive to generate numerous creative milieux/clusters by

applying internationally shared policies and strategies. The results have been criticised, in terms of sameness and the repetitive serial reproduction of land changes, which concentrate on redeveloping commercial and business properties within the central business district (Scott, 2014). However, since placemaking aims to deal with local contexts, placemaking analysis can support a way to address the issues of top-down approach of planning.

In my assessment of the DMC I will consider the beautiful parks and vibrant plazas and streets, and elements that should be investigated in terms of the physical setting – the hard infrastructure of architectures, skyline, building façades and textures, and soft infrastructure of the public art and public design. Public design, as mentioned in section 3.4, has recently gained prominent attention in Korea. The term ‘public design’ is a combination of ‘public’ and ‘design’, yet, the term ‘design’ itself in Korean already embraces the meaning of ‘public’ (Kim, 2008); accordingly, the character of public interest is acknowledged more significantly. At the same time, in its creation of good public spaces, public design is inevitably closely related to placemaking.

Among various principles in creative city theories and placemaking discourses, the idea of ‘diversity’ is the most commonly shared basic idea for physical setting, economic vitality and cultural richness (see Asheim, 2005; Jacobs, 1961; Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000; Montgomery, 1998 etc.) At the same time, the notion of ‘authenticity’ emerges when the making of places

(and placemaking tradition) encounters the term 'creative'. In order for spaces to be 'creative', their uniqueness and distinctiveness becomes a theoretical issue, and this issue gains a critical weight when considering the shifting policy and political interests of authorities as they attempt to rationalize change under the influence of globalisation and the kinds of homogenization it seems to incur. Therefore, this section examines two conflicting notions – 'diversity' and 'authenticity' – and uses these concepts as critical criteria for assessing the strategic approach to the physical setting of creative placemaking.

Diversity has been regarded by numerous urbanists, planners and designers as a vital component in stimulating innovation and economic growth, functioning as a crucial condition for city aesthetics and social good (Jacobs, 1961; Florida, 2002; Montgomery, 1998). Jacobs (1961) places strong emphasis and praise on the concept of diversity in urban places. She argues that the intermingling of everyday diverse use of the place – the engagement of citizens, the spread of people occupying the place in every hour of the day in a variety of types of business and residence in a district – these are the *sine qua non* of a prosperous city. Jacobs (1961) understands diversity as uses of space, rather than considering it in cultural or racial terms (as in later multiculturalism). She believes that diversity creates a city that is beautiful as well as economically robust. According to her, there are four indispensable physical conditions of the built environment in creating exuberant diversity for social and economic benefit: firstly, neighbourhoods should include varied

functions of the internal parts in a district, so that the streets are dynamic throughout the whole day. Secondly, short building plots and an organic, intertwined street structure are essential. Thirdly, sufficient variation is required in the area. For instance, buildings that have a broad range of ages and various levels of maintenance and functionality generate a colourful city image. Lastly, a high concentration of urban density is necessary. Diversity for Jacobs can be attained by an amalgamation of diverse building types and uses, the combination of old and new buildings, and the mixture of commercial and residential buildings. This promotes a variety of entrepreneurs (Morris and Kaufman, 1996), as Jacobs declares, '*new ideas must use old buildings*' (1961, p.188). Therefore a city neighbourhood can cooperatively benefit while enhancing entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation due to people of diverse ages using the area in different ways at different times of day, creating vitality in the community (Jacobs, 1961). Therefore, this is the way to create variety as well as organic beauty in a city, not by well-established, distinguished districts for the wealthy, which would generate a certain social homogeneity, but facilitate a broader representative sense of community.

Research that regards the distinctiveness and uniqueness of creative cities and creative placemaking has, in general, called for an embrace of authenticity (Authenticity, 2008; Vickery, 2011). It is a significant principle for both physical setting and activity in creative placemaking. As the activity dimension discusses the idea of authenticity plentifully in relation to the

concept of local identity and local particularities, the explanation of authenticity will be only addressed in this section.

Ruberone (2008) affirms that the term authenticity is essential for the interpretation of cultural works. According to him, authentic objects, architectural structures and sites accord original and firsthand experience to people who create or use them, exclusive to their time and place. Ouf's (2001) paper states that the idea of 'authenticity' used to be attached to the sphere of heritage, artifacts or museums (Jones, 1990), yet it now has been employed with reference to urban landscapes (Assi, 2000), the experience of place and even placelessness (Relph, 1976; Arefi, 1999). The emphasis on the concept of authenticity and its relation to improving a sense of place is now fully engaged in the category of urban design (Tibbalds, 2001; Hayward and McGlynn, 1993), as are principles of placemaking (Montgomery, 1998). The concept of authenticity has been extensively discussed in urban design and placemaking discourses: firstly, in relation to historical information and memory of place (see Sharpley and Stone, 2009); secondly, as one of the seven objectives in creating a good quality urban place (Jacobs and Appleyard, 1987); thirdly, in relation to the urban economic development associated with the rise of tourism and the tourist market; fourthly, as a natural condition of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980) and built environment; and finally, as the meaning of place. Assi (2000) claims the necessity for authenticity in monuments and historical sites, in addition to non-physical and cultural heritage, at national and international levels. Some communities have developed their urban landscapes via distinctive local economic and

social history. For example, they have established the landscapes along rivers and lakesides, whereas others built commercial, industrial and residential structures that are valued for their architectural and historic merit.

#### *Criterion 4) Creative and Cultural Activities*

Montgomery declares that, 'Without activity there can be no urbanity' (1998: 96). According to him, the physical-spatial relationship itself is insufficient as a condition for urbanity, as urbanity consists of city form, activity, street life and urban culture (1998). Canter (1977), Punter (1991) and Montgomery (2003) include activity as a main factor in building the framework of a place. The role played by activities is discussed at the centre of creative city and creative placemaking (Landry, 2000; Scott, 2000; NEA, 2010; ArtPlace America, 2014). In the paper 'Places in the Making' (Silberberg et al., 2013), it is explained that the *activity* of a place deserves equal scrutiny since it is what is maintained after the planning and design is completed. As an urban development strategy, cities represent a focus of activities, skills and ideas that serendipitously or intentionally circulate, mingle and catalyse, producing the preconditions for innovation. Therefore, artistic and cultural activities are a perfect recipe for creative placemaking.

The attention given to 'activities' (both creative and cultural) in creative city discourse has been largely drawn from Landry's focus on the 'soft infrastructure' of a city. Jensen (2009) claimed that the idea of creativity itself includes the broad sense associated with any activity, involving original as

well as inventive thought processes. Individuals are included in urban processes that necessitate a paradigm shift from physical infrastructure to infrastructure that promotes creativity. Landry's strong emphasis on establishing soft infrastructure indicated a system of complementary structures and social networks, connections and human interactions that stimulate the flow of ideas between both individuals and institutions.

Cultural/creative activities are at the centre of the discussion of creative placemaking. In particular, at the local level, discussion surrounding the positive effects of cultural activities, such as the promotion of inclusiveness and accessibility, increased interaction between the audience, artist (not in every case) and place (Landry et al., 1996; Isar, 1976), and enhancing civic pride (Mueller and Fenton, 1989), is central. Landry and Wood (2003) identify cultural activities as main features for globally successful cities. In particular, Landry describes the vital role of cultural heritage, and the preservation of cultural heritage, as a traditional essence of cities, which is especially significant as a competitive advantage in the globalised world. As explained, the 'cultural landscape' is not only a physical manifestation but also includes intangible or moving features that originated in the community, such as human transactions, natural landscape qualities, and both traditional and applied arts, crafts and music. The activities that convey local identity are especially emphasised as 'creative' in the globalisation of cities.

The arrangement of activities provides opportunities to promote the vitality of



everyday lives, and also creates new platforms for civic expression. For instance, this can be explained in the circle of cultural production and consumption (Throsby, 2001; Zukin, 1991). Demand factors for these activities may include audiences for experimental arts or purchasers of fashion and interior decoration. Supply-side factors would be creative producers that stimulate and inspire each other, producing 'scenes' in music, art, writing and so on. This can be related to Makeham's (2005) observation that the recent focus on creativity and cultural activity in good contemporary planning is to promote citizen participation, encouraging citizens to become both performers and spectators in the urban drama. Both demand and supply factors create the creative/cultural 'scenes' surrounded by subcultures that take place in small, scattered places. This is significant due to the fact that it offers platforms for community expression and further leads to enhancing civic pride. Additionally, a desire to be affiliated to 'trendy' or 'bohemian' suburbs, (Gibson, n.d.) can function as a method of attracting mobile labour, and can consequently affect the flow of investment in creative activities (Crewe and Beaverstock, 1998; Glaeser, 2011; Pine II and Gilmore, 1999; Florida, 2004, cited in Pratt, 2012). The interactions derived from activities between individuals, creative workers and public officers help to distinguish a city identity that has indigenous roots in a globalised world.

Similarly, the rhetoric of creative/cultural activities, in particular events and festivals, plays a highly instrumental role; the commercialisation of activities (Huang and Stuart, 1996; Lankford, 1994; Getz, 1994), and 'image

production' or city marketing in an American sense (Ward, 1998) has been criticised. This is especially important as it is observed in the case of Seoul. At the national level, these activities are used for city marketing as a way of image production, increasing the city's profile. Tourism tends to become the *raison d'être* of the city festival. Boosting tourism for the purpose of economic benefit, generating substantial numbers of tourists through cultural activities, has been an essential part of the city marketing strategies of many cities, including Seoul's creative city strategy as explained in Chapter Three. However, Landry et al. (1996) argue that a focus on external audiences may limit the quality of a festival due to a lack of critical approaches towards artistic works, and constraints on the quality of events under the pressure to commercialise. Equally, the commercialisation of cultural activities, as well as the extent to which the entertainment element overrides the cultural value, has been discussed as latent risks (Elias-Varotsis, 2006).

#### Sub-category 4-1) Vitality

The vitality of a place and its significant role in creative city, urban design and (creative) placemaking discourses is abundantly discussed. Jacobs's (1961) keyword 'diversity' is explained as a means for creating community vitality, and Lynch (1981) places vitality as one of the five dimensions of performance of urban design, the report 'What is Placemaking' (PPS, n.d.) identifies vitality as the city's ultimate element, as do Landry (2000) and Montgomery (1998). The factors which are identified for urban development such as events and festivals, cultural activities, the 24/7 city, public art, and

café culture are all related to the urban vitality.

'Principles of Creative Placemaking' set up by *ArtPlace America* (n.d.) states that a combination of uses and people allow places to become more diverse, interesting and active, therefore spontaneous interaction is more likely. Intensifying and integrating activities generates the promise that visitors are able to have fun, mingle with other people, and happen upon opportunity (ibid ), which is an important issue of creative places. Thus, numerous politicians and city planners recognise that liveliness and 'vitality' are necessary to the existence of people and businesses in the place; this attracts workers to the city and is a way to prevent urban decay. With the increasing attention on the term 'vibrancy', it has become more measurable with the efforts by ArtPlace America. ArtPlace America (2012) issued 'Vibrancy Indicators' in order to determine the degree of vitality of a creative place and utilised this by producing a list of 47 of "America's Top Art Places 2013". It defines vibrancy via three broad areas, which are people, activity, and value.

In Montgomery's paper, 'Making a City: Urbanity, Vitality and Urban design' (1998), he stresses two key concepts: vitality and diversity. He asserts that vitality is a key principle for distinguishing successful urban places. Indeed, cities such as London, Paris and New York contain the strong image of liveliness and vibrancy. According to Montgomery (1998), vitality indicates pedestrian flows across diverse times of the day as well as night, the

utilisation of facilities, cultural events and celebrations, the presence of a dynamic street life and where a place feels alive in general. He further states that vitality can be generated by events and activities for particular slots of time in particular places including streets, buildings and spaces. Yet, accomplishing long term urban vitality necessitates a multifaceted diversity of land uses as well as activity (Montgomery, 1998). In fact, he references Jacobs' (1961) work and merits her emphasis on the arrangement of mixtures of activities or largely economic activity. Montgomery (1998) further advocates the necessity for providing the space for transactions all day, which requires the establishment of the evening economy of urban dynamics as Florida asserts the need of "24/7" leisure amenities. In this context, vitality is about exploring possibilities in the extended segments of time with a developed pattern for grown urban complexity.

### **5.1.2 *Final observations***

This section introduced a number of concepts from the placemaking tradition in urban design by way of amplifying the 'placemaking' dimensions of the creative city discourse. The literature review offered a foundation to help to build the analytical framework for the Seoul DMC. I built my own framework by synthesising these two different academic areas, which also have common characteristics. Both creative city discourse and the (creative) placemaking field have a tendency to cover the social-economical-cultural dimensions underpinning the discussion of making creative urban place. As a result, apart from the debate in the placemaking/urban design perspective

engaging more with the spatial characteristics of place, and creative city discussion concentrating closely on the political approach, the scope of both areas is mostly shared in order to try to understand the complexity of urban dynamics from a holistic approach. From the literature review, this thesis is working within four generic categories, within which we locate our criteria of analysis for the DMC as a creative urban place. These are the four empirical categories attended to by the successive DMC plans:

- 1) policy and management
- 2) creative workers
- 3) built form
- 4) cultural/creative activities

In order to develop the analytical framework, I established a framework that was not shaped for creative urban place in general, but was optimised for the case analysis location of this thesis, taking into account its unique characteristics. Therefore, the table below is derived from: 1) the theories and principles informed by the contemporary creative city literature in Chapter Two; 2) principles that I argue to be *sine qua non* for building creative urban place (diversity, authenticity, vitality), especially for this particular case; 3) and finally, other concepts drawn from the empirical findings of Seoul to make criteria for the DMC as discussed in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. Apart from the main criteria that are listed, it includes numerous sub-principles as mentioned in chapters Two, Three and Four, which make a creative urban place. Also, the Table 5.3 is updated from the

initial framework based on the findings of the case analysis, which is further proposed as a methodological and analytical framework for making creative urban place in Seoul. As a consequence, the distinct situation – the first newly built cluster in fifteen years, located in Seoul, South Korea, which seeks ways to be ‘creative’ in the global competition between cities under the huge influence of globalisation – was exhaustively considered in order to build the tailored framework.

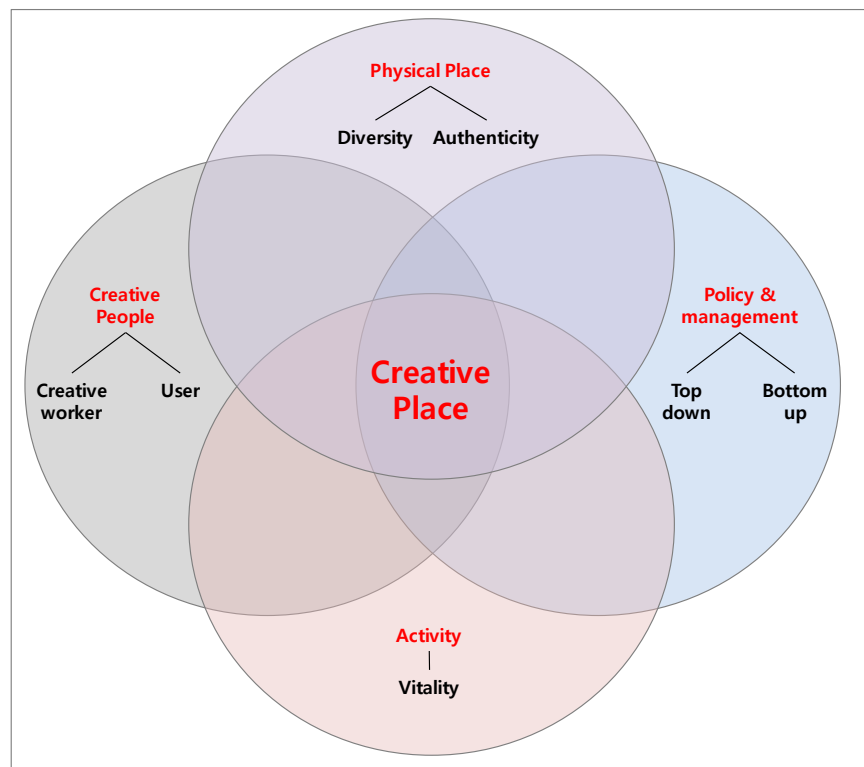


Figure 5.2 Diagram for making creative urban place of the DMC ©Junmin Song, 2014

<b>1. Policy and management</b>	Top-down approach + Bottom-up approach	Policy strategies, Management, clustering process, Community participation
<b>2. Creative people</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Networking</li> <li>• Location preference</li> </ul>	Gathering spaces, affordability, creative outcome, networking, clustering process
<b>3. Cultural/Creative activities (soft infrastructure)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vitality (interaction)</li> <li>• Authenticity</li> </ul>	Cultural scene (events, festivals, café culture, street life, public arts, public design)
<b>4. Built form (hard infrastructure + soft infrastructure)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diversity</li> <li>• Authenticity</li> </ul>	Architectural distinctiveness, colour, building façade, night landscape, public design, public art
		Greenness, mixed-use, daytime and evening uses, cultural venues and public space
		Walkability, sittability, human scale, active frontage, street and space uses
<b>5. Creative urban place (creative environment / milieu)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identity</li> </ul>	Locality, sense of history and progress, image

Table 5.3 Methodological analysis framework for the Seoul DMC

## 5.2 Research Philosophies

### 5.2.1 Research Strategy

This study synthesises theoretical research and empirical research, and primarily adopts a qualitative approach, but also applies a quantitative technique (survey), resulting in a mixed method approach. A mixed method approach unites the qualitative and quantitative approaches in the research methodology (Tashakkaori and Teddlie, 1998). This thesis aims to understand the contemporary policy-mediation of the placemaking of creative urban places with the use of arts and culture by investigating the particular case location, the Seoul DMC. The theoretical framework established through the literature review is then used as a basis for planning the case analysis research.

The case study, as a vehicle for research, is used to deal with complex

situations and enables researchers to answer questions of 'how' and 'why' (Baxter and Jack, 2008). It is an approach that explores a phenomenon in its own context, using various data sources through different lenses, allowing the researcher to understand multiple facets of the phenomenon (Baxter and Jack, 2008). From the Constructivist viewpoint of case study, the paradigm acknowledges not only the significance of subjectivity derived from the human creation of meaning, while embracing some concepts of objectivity and pluralism – not relativism – highlighted in the circular dynamic tension of subjectivity and objectivity (Miller and Crabtree, 1999).

To implement a case study approach, besides classifying the case itself, researchers need a decision making process to determine whether a single case study or a multiple case study is more appropriate. A holistic single case study can be used when the case is a unique or extreme situation (Yin, 2003) and the Seoul DMC case is suitable for this approach regarding a new city district as it was established within fifteen years as a creative cluster, which is extremely unusual. One of the advantages of case study research is the application of multiple data sources, and the enhancement of data credibility (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). Potential data sources may comprise documentation, archival records, interviews, physical objects, direct observations and participant observation (Baxter and Jack, 2008). The data from these numerous sources are combined in the analytical process and each data source becomes one element that contributes to the holistic understanding of the whole phenomenon. In approaching the analysis of the



creative urban place from a holistic view, this thesis must conduct a case study.

However, one thing that a researcher must consider in a case study is setting boundaries to ensure the study remains within a reasonable scope (Yin, 2003; Stake, 1995). Baxter and Jack (2008) cited from Yin (2003) and Stake (1995)'s suggestion of three factors to be considered: "(a) by time and place (Creswell, 2003); (b) time and activity (Stake); and (c) by definition and context (Miles and Huberman, 1994)" (p.546) Yin (2003) points out that it is important to be aware of the fact that researchers focus merely on analysis of an individual subunit and can sometimes be unsuccessful in revisiting the global issue that was initially established for investigation. In this thesis, since this study do not use traditional case study, I will use a term 'case analysis' instead – motivated by the issues, concepts and rhetoric that we encountered in the discussion of the creative city discourse in chapters two and three.

### **5.3 Research Methods**

#### **5.3.1 *Justification and Limitations of Case Locations***

A series of criteria were used to select case location. The main factors taken into consideration are shown in the table 5.4. The top two factors were the significant elements for the decision. Firstly, this case analysis location was especially useful to investigate the research aim to understand current urban dynamics in the local context and its relation to a global context [RQ4]. The

Seoul DMC seeks a distinctive and valid meaning or identity in the contemporary era, to be 'creative' so as to survive in the global market under the influence of globalisation or westernisation of Asian urban places. In this manner, as this district is established on the basis of the phenomenon of the Korean Wave as a main concept, and completely newly built like other ordinary products, it can be seen as another 'product' of the Korean Wave in a urban place form. A city is not built overnight, and the accumulated stories of past and present help to build urban places. However, the DMC was originally a landfill site before the masterplan was established, with a blueprint for approximately fifteen years; the DMC has now taken centre stage as the M&E industries district of Seoul.

A single holistic case location was chosen so as to develop a better understanding of the research agendas outlined in Chapter One, and to offer an argument for discussion drawn from the unique position of the DMC in the world. Secondly, the case location needed to be a landmark of creative and cultural activity, and the DMC fulfils this requirement due to its advantages as an M&E industries specialized cluster, although the activities are mainly related to popular cultural products associated with digital media, IT and business, excluding traditional arts and historical cultural activities. Thirdly, the case needed to possess a variety of regional assets in the case analysis area since the element of diversity is one of the criteria this thesis analyses in creative urban places. Even though diversity is used as a criterion to analyse the physical setting of the place, the surrounding assets also need to

be diverse, as the built form itself is an expression of its own character and involves surrounding assets. Fourthly, governance is one of the essential aspects to consider for the analysis undertaken by this thesis. The governance structure of the DMC was to a large extent differentiated from other urban places, as the DMC is a newly built urban place developed in a short period of time. Also, unlike other urban places, the district is managed and to some extent controlled by one third sector organisation (SBA), thus the district involves a unique governance mode, urban management process and intervention initiatives. This is an exceptional case compared to other areas of Seoul, in that a part of an urban district is managed and controlled by a government organisation in Korea.

However, as the case study approach has often been criticised for the limitations imposed by researcher subjectivity (Berg and Lune, 2012), observations may be biased from my own subjective viewpoint, based on my own experiences and therefore less formalised (Verschuren, 2003). Furthermore, issues of external validity and generalisability (Van Evera, 1997) are often raised and these are valid criticisms. The single case study that may be based on one's subjective view may not be reliable, and it can be inappropriate to generalise beyond the particular case. As much as the DMC case embraces its unique features, it is more challenging in terms of reliability in the process of generalisation. Due to the unique characteristics of the DMC location, with no traditional and accumulated local assets (although there are the parks – the five world cup parks - that strive to

restore the historical environment, though one has been completely rebuilt), and it is difficult to develop the urban strategy with the organically embedded assets of the district.

No.	Criteria	Assets
1	Uniqueness as a 'creative' place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not like other organic or even policy-led regenerated urban places, the whole place is established under the master plan with a blueprint</li> </ul>
2	Strong profile; arts, culture and creative industry activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The district is set up as M&amp;E industries cluster in addition to IT industries; advanced digital media companies including broadcasting, games, films, music etc., are clustered, and accordingly, the 'creative people' in the field work there. Thus, a variety of events and festivals related to the popular cultural products are held</li> </ul>
3	Diversity of regional assets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unique dynamics in creating value via the integration of IT and culture</li> <li>• The presence of R&amp;D companies and institutions</li> <li>• Involve unique location history</li> </ul>
4	Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unique governance and management style compared to other areas of Seoul</li> </ul>

Table 5.4 Justification for the selection of Seoul DMC as a case analysis

### 5.3.2 Data Collection

As explained in the previous section, both qualitative and quantitative methods were applied to conduct the investigation of this study. However, as this research is uniquely developed with a combination of cultural policy and urban design/placemaking discourse, a 'multi-dimensional approach' as created by Yang (2006) was adopted, which also includes mixed-methods. The multi-dimensional approach is designed to investigate the spatial composition and cultural use of waterfronts. It consists of: 1) a literature review; 2) a morphological analysis; 3) an observations analysis; 4) a user questionnaire; and 5) stakeholder interview. A multi-dimensional approach was necessary due to the complexity of physical and non-physical factors – the social and cultural factors that affect the place. However, this research modified a couple of elements of Yang's (2006) methodology to fit the

context of this study (see Table 5.5).

Specifically, five approach methods have been used to collect data in this study. Firstly, the historical background of the case location was investigated to provide a broad context around the DMC, gained from participant observation methods (documents and archival records). Secondly, a pictorial analysis of the built environment was undertaken to examine essential visual elements for the aesthetic of the built environment and placemaking (photo documenting). Thirdly, site observation was conducted to understand interactions between users, activities and the built environment (photographic documenting). Also, participant observation was conducted to explore how the case location was sustained and managed from a socio-political perspective with diverse stakeholders (documentation, archival records, interviews and participant-observations). Fourthly, a user questionnaire method was used to collect empirical and evidence-based data with regard to the relationship between the built environment and its users – both creative workers and local residents, and interaction between creative workers. Fifthly, stakeholder interviews in various positions in diverse fields were conducted for better understanding of the creative workers, policy makers, and community, and how they manage the place as creative and sustainable (email, written or face-to-face interviews). The face-to-face interview was recorded and semi-structured. The questions were broad and briefly structured and the interview process was differentiated depending on the specific situation. Written and email interviews were structured. Finally,

as explained above, the multiple sources of data are pieces of a puzzle that are joined in the last stages of the single case study approach. The data collecting process is concurrent. Thus, all the collected outcomes are synthesised to identify the successful components in building the creative urban places of the DMC.

No	Approach method	Type of data	Description
1	Historical analysis of case location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Historical background of the case location (documents and archival records)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To offer a broad context to comprehend the case study area</li> </ul>
2	Visual analysis of case location	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pictorial analysis of the built environment (photo documenting)</li> <li>site observation (photo documenting)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To investigate essential visual elements for the aesthetic of the built environment and placemaking</li> </ul>
3	Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Site observation (photo documenting)</li> <li>Participant-observation (documentation, archival records, interviews and participant-observations)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To understand the interaction between users, activities and built environment (social and cultural use of public places)</li> <li>To investigate how the case location is sustained and managed from a socio-political perspective</li> </ul>
4	User questionnaires	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prepared questionnaire</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To collect empirical data with regard to the interrelationship between the built environment and its users, and interaction between creative workers</li> </ul>
5	Stakeholder interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Semi-structured/structured interviews (email, written, and face-to-face)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>For an in-depth understanding of the creative workers, policy makers, and 'community', and how they manage the place to be creative and sustainable</li> </ul>
6	The synthesis from 1 to 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Synthesis of the outcomes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To understand the successful components in building creative urban places in the case location</li> </ul>

Table 5.5 The framework for the case analysis

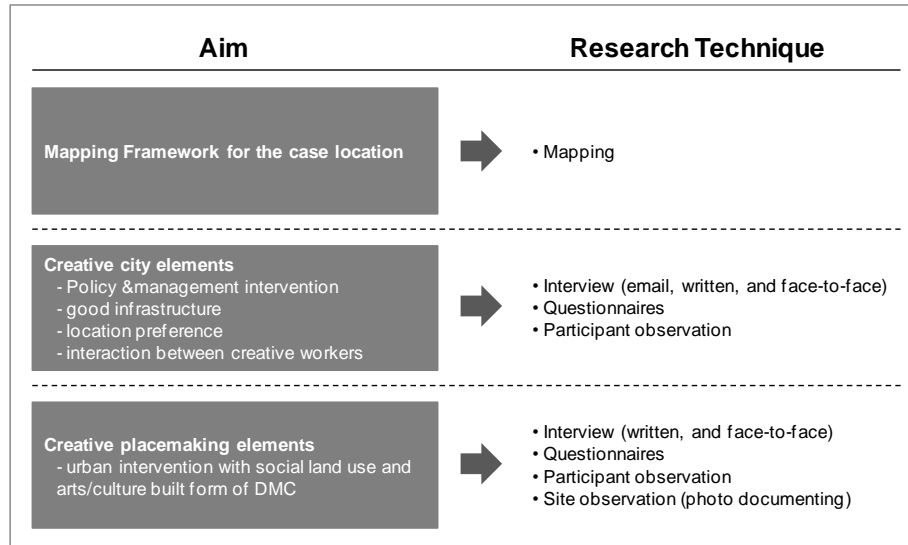


Figure 5.3 The structure of the Data Collection © Junmin Song, 2014

### 5.3.3 Conducting the Case Analysis

There were two visits to the case location prior to the actual start of the investigation, to test the validity of the single case location. Two main stages of fieldwork were conducted. The first stage was to conduct participant observation while working for the organisation SBA (third sector). The single case analysis research ran from June 2011 to October 2011, when I worked for the SBA and immersed myself as a participant and, at the same time, as an observer. At this stage, interview, site observation, and participant observation methods were utilised for an exploratory study and for gaining a better understanding of the whole phenomenon of the DMC. The second stage of fieldwork ran from February 2014 until May 2014. This stage involved conducting site observation, interviews and a survey. Since there was a large-scale reshuffling of the political strategic plan in the SBA due to the change of the political party in the government of Seoul in 2011 (see

chapter three), the related updated information, data and interviews around differentiated policy strategies of the DMC were collected. Further, I developed and reshaped interview questions based on the experience of fieldwork and the information gathered. The first and second stage of data collection were converged and analysed concurrently in the latter stage.

#### **5.3.4 *Fieldwork***

Previous to the fieldwork, desktop research was conducted to collect the information regarding the Seoul DMC, gathering background knowledge about the case area to support the subsequent field research; this stage was thus necessary in order to formulate the further fieldwork. In the first stage of fieldwork, I actively participated as a member of the SBA, taking the role of project manager for the major festival of the DMC, Seoul Digital Culture Open Festival (SeDCO, formerly the Seoul Culture Open Festival). This experience endowed me with a holistic view of the case location, and a profound understanding of the urban dynamics in the DMC, between diverse stakeholders (creative workers, policy makers, public officers and community), along with the dynamics of political intervention and its background histories, and how the DMC district is used from social and cultural perspectives. This work experience also enabled me to gain easier access to stakeholders by building upon informal relationships. Informal conversations with diverse stakeholders were subsequently transcribed, and organisation archives were accessed. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with a few policy makers and the DMC planners.



The difficulty was in maintaining a balanced distance between my role as an observer and other stakeholders, or between subjectivity and objectivity. During this period of time, a number of photographs of the public places were taken as a part of the photo-documenting element of the study, and voice-recorded observations were undertaken. However, photographs were not regularly taken during this period.

In the second phase of fieldwork, as there were substantial changes in the DMC, in terms of not only the political system and strategies, but also built form with the establishment of a number of new main architectures in the district, further fieldwork was necessary. At this phase, semi-structured and face-to-face interviews with key informants, such as policy makers and the DMC master planners were recorded, in addition to interviews with several creative workers and local residents. Email interviews with policy makers and officers in the public sector and third sector were conducted, and written interviews with creative workers in the DMC were conducted. Surveys were undertaken within two groups: community and creative workers. Regular and in-depth site observation was also conducted at this period with a number of photographs of the landscape of the DMC, including buildings, public places, street furniture and public art, for the purpose of photo-documenting the data within this research. The objective was to record all aspects of daily life for both the local community and creative workers. The data collection process took place in natural circumstances, based on the relationship I had built with creative workers and public officers during the working period in the first

stage. I was able to attend a variety of cultural and social activities in the district and thus intimately observe how people use the place.

### **5.3.5 Interviews and Survey**

The interviewees were categorised into three groups: creative workers (semi-structured face-to-face interview), policy makers and planners of the DMC (semi-structured/structured face-to-face interview), and local residents (semi-structured face-to-face interview). Semi-structured interviews were used to develop an understanding of the contextual information. The basic questions were sent by email before the actual interview was conducted, to give interviewees some time to think about their responses. During the interview, the structure was managed flexibly depending on the context. There are numerous advantages to the interview method, including the duration of time spent with individual respondents (Greenbaum, 2000). This method not only allows attitudinal and behavioural insights, but also the removal of negative group dynamics; for example, negotiating sensitive issues such as strategy that changes as it is influenced by political issues (Greenbaum, 2000). This was especially true in my case since there was a political change during my fieldwork; thus, the interviewees were extremely cautious and careful in structuring their response. In terms of the creative worker group, the interviewees were contacted through the relationship cultivated during fieldwork and through personal networks. It was possible to undertake in-depth face-to-face interviews with eight creative workers, based on this personal relationship. This enabled me to have some control over the

direction of the conversation (Greenbaum, 2000).

The interviewees in the creative worker group (both A group and B group) were questioned in three main sections. Firstly, they were asked about their preferences with regard to workplaces, in addition to the reason why and how they decided to move to the DMC. This question helped to illuminate how the landfill site could be converted into a creative cluster within the short period of construction and development. Additionally, their preference for the location of the working environment was investigated. Secondly, the question regarding the level of social networks and interaction in the cluster, with the advantage of proximity, was raised. In particular, participants were questioned about their level of satisfaction in relation to creative products to investigate if the DMC successfully plays its role as a creative milieu, as the planners initially intended, and if the cluster actually supports nurturing creativity and innovation in the urban place. The third part of this section was concerned with the physical environment, including its contents, in the district from the user's point of view. Finally, the social use of public places in the DMC was referred to, to investigate how the M&E industries district plays a role in shaping the cultural landscape of the DMC.

The interviews with key policy makers and planners of the DMC were undertaken with six interviewees, and consisted of three semi-structured face-to-face interviews, and three structured email interviews. The questions were primarily designed towards an understanding of the whole process of

building the DMC, from its beginning stages to its present state, and also considered the next stages of the plan. Questions referenced the objectives and diverse strategies of the DMC, such as the visual built form, business, marketing, management, and policies. Further, the interviews discussed the missions and roles of the DMC as a creative milieu, and how it is distinguished among many Asian creative districts in the competitive globalised world.

The third group consisted of local residents of the DMC district. It was held as a group interview and a total of eight local people participated in the semi-structured face-to-face interview. This was part of the user evaluation research of the DMC to investigate the use of public places, landscape, public design and the arts, and cultural activities from the user point of view. Participants, as the DMC district users, were considered as a community. Creative workers were categorised separately, as a target to consider in the initial planning stage. The interview was intended to explore the level of community participation and the actual need for the social, cultural and visual landscape of the DMC complex.

The survey was conducted in two groups: the creative worker group and local resident group. A single subject was discussed in each group – the social and cultural use of place. Participants were asked how they felt about built form and physical infrastructures. The public space survey is inspired by the work of William H. Whyte in quantifying how people use districts and

public places. The survey was supported by personal networking and written interviews. I approached five creative workers to disseminate the survey through their networks in the DMC. The proximity of similar industries was an advantage to the networking method. In total 68 people participated in the written interview within the creative worker group (A,B,C), and a total of 47 local residents participated in the survey.

Interviewee	Semi-structured/ face-to-face	Written interview	E-mail
Creative worker group	8	68 (Survey) (A): 39 (B): 22 (C): 7	0
Policy maker, Planner for the DMC	4	0	3
Local residents	8		47 (Survey)

Table 5.6 Summary of data collection for interviews and written interview (survey)

### 5.3.6 Observations

#### (i) Participant Observation

The participant observation was actively undertaken over three months in the SBA. In terms of the level of participation, I was actively involved in the organisation by undertaking an important role, becoming a project manager for the SeDCO, as mentioned. I was responsible for the arts and cultural sector of the event and worked with art director, Kim Hyun Ju, an associate professor of KGIT and a media artist. The festival was managed based on the partnership between myself and the art director. In addition to the managerial position, I was responsible for the visual aesthetic aspect of built form and enhancing the vibrancy of the DMC district. Though I was generally

considered as a member of the organisation, it was essential to maintain an element of objectivity.

Semi-structured observation helped to gradually develop the initial objectives of the investigation. In the early phase of the research, this was closer to unstructured observation, but as time passed the objectives became specific; when, where and what specific factors of the setting and/or behaviour should be observed, as well as how to organise the collected data and record observation, were considered. I recorded and formed theoretical conceptualisation through notes and voice recordings, and gathered evidence in the early stages of unstructured observation.

#### (ii) Site Observation

William H. Whyte's more analytical approach, using time-lapse photography to document direct observations of human behaviour in the place, was borrowed for this research. This was originally inspired by Jacobs' (1961) approach, in which she argues that walking and spending time in the place with people who work there enables a better understanding of how and why people use spaces in the way they do. Also, there is a current method, 'Walking in the city', which was used in the urban design and planning method (Shortell and Brown, 2014). This was intended to determine how people use the place compared to its original intention, leading to better strategies for creating a built environment. Thus, the site observation focused on people-oriented indicators, such as who is present and how they use a

space and physical settings (including amenities, public art, public design etc.) so as to formulate strategies and designs for improving built form. Further, how a place is varied depends upon some occasions (as when the space holds events, festivals and other kinds of creative/cultural activities) and its contexts. During the first stage of observation, research was conducted irregularly as I was involved within the organisation through my role as project manager of the festival. The full-scale site observation was conducted in the second phase of fieldwork, when I made visits to the sites from 8am to 10pm once every week for three months, taking into account the average working hours of South Korea. Occasionally I stayed until 2am at the site. The methods used to record data included photographic documentation and voice recordings.

#### **5.4 Advantages and Limitations of the Methodology**

The advantages of undertaking a case analysis of the Seoul DMC within this thesis can be summarised in three key points. First, the confidence gained from being in my home country and the ability to communicate in my native language were beneficial in terms of conducting the interviews. A positive consequence was that more interviews were conducted than was originally predicted. Second, as an extension of this, I was able to obtain rich data. The personal connection with creative workers in the DMC was already established due to my academic background in Fine Arts (BA Hons) and my presence within the physical space and community of the DMC granted access to not only creative workers but also planners and residents. Third,

the residency granted the flexibility needed to conduct fieldwork, interviews and surveys.

A number of different methods were applied in this study to encompass the complexities of the specific case analysis. In terms of the face-to-face interviews, it was very helpful that the interviewees offered valuable information and suggested further contacts. Further, listening to their personal stories regarding the DMC was useful in understanding the context of the relationship between the participants and the space. In spite of these advantages, face-to-face interviews presented an important difficulty concerning sensitive issues. In particular, respondents were often reluctant to answer and tried to evade questions related to sensitive political issues. As the interview was being recorded, it was difficult to receive honest and true responses from the interviewees.

The participation observation was valuable as it gave a holistic understanding of the urban dynamics in the DMC. The relationships established via my position within the DMC supported my further research by allowing contact with key people and access to archives and historical documentation. Motivated by Jane Jacobs' method of direct observation on the basis of personal urban experience (Jacobs, 1961), my inclusive access to the DMC and the community, in the form of working and living in the area for some time, proved to be an effective way to capture the urban dynamics and essential elements of the DMC. However, the process was time



consuming and it was difficult to focus on research during the work period. Therefore, for a three-year research project, the fieldwork took a great deal of time. For example, interviews with participants produced a large volume of information and it was a challenge to reduce such data into a focused and quantifiable record. Another difficulty was to maintain a balance between subjective and objective views on the DMC. As a close relationship was established between the workers in the organisation and myself (as stated earlier) the navigation of the dual roles of participant and observer was a challenge.

The problem with the method of site observation was that it was affected by a variety of external variables and uncertainties. For example, the outcome could be differentiated by weather. The political situation of South Korea was also highly influential. During the research period, a new mayor for Seoul was appointed, and the policy directions, schemes and management strategies of the DMC changed accordingly. For instance, the construction of a landmark building that was supposed to be completed by 2014 was extended and is still postponed, for issues related to the budget of the Seoul government. This landmark building was one of the elements to be analysed in my initial research plan, but this had to be modified. Last but not least, research materials gathered had to be translated into English.

Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Native language</li> <li>• Accessing rich data</li> <li>• Flexibility due to residency</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dealing with sensitive issues</li> <li>• Time consuming due to participant observation (Too much information to process)</li> <li>• Keeping balance between subjectivity and objectivity</li> <li>• Affected by uncertainty and external variables</li> <li>• Replication or translation of case study material</li> </ul>

Table 5.7 Advantages and disadvantages in conducting a case analysis in my home country

## **Chapter Six**

### **The Seoul DMC: Analyzing the Creative Urban Place I: Policy, Planning and Creative Urbanity**

This chapter analyses the findings of the case analysis undertaken in the Seoul DMC, where newly built digital M&E industries combine with IT industries in an intended creative cluster. The Introduction of this thesis has tended to the historical background, the emergence and evolution of the geo-physical and urban expanse of this part of Seoul. This chapter is the first of my two case analysis studies, focusing in the first instance in analysing the DMC as a creative urban place using the key factors derived from Chapter Five.

By adopting the analytical criteria discussed in previous chapters, this chapter analyses the DMC as a creative urban place (milieu), as distinct from a mere creative cluster seen from political and socio-economic perspectives. Analysis of the DMC will utilise the first two indicators of creative placemaking established in Chapter Five: 1) policy and management, and 2) the levels of networking, output, and degree of satisfaction of the creative workers towards the DMC cluster. The analysis here will serve as a foundation for Chapter Eight, where I discuss the strengths and weaknesses

of the DMC as a creative urban place, derived from the gap between theory and practice, and between local and global contexts.

## **6.1 Policy and Management**

After completing the DMC master plan in 2001 and holding a memorial or 'legacy' forum for the DMC in 2002, the DMC project commenced at full scale. From 2002 to the present, the area has drastically changed. Rapid social change in South Korea led to the equally fast-paced evolution of the DMC, and today development is still occurring at an accelerated pace. Throughout this process, with a robust policy-led approach, the DMC has been transformed into the nation's first creative district within a short period of time. Since in the initial planning stage of the DMC there were no residents, and so it was not possible to apply a 'bottom-up' approach corresponding to the local needs, problems and expectations. The planners maintained a wholly top-down, or government-policy-based, priority. As the DMC is now a fully-fledged city district, the local residents that moved into the Eco Village (see Introduction) since 2003, have been more involved in city planning, recently. Accordingly, throughout the planning and establishment of the DMC, the level of policy intervention and the involvement of community have varied.

### **6.1.1 *Policy Strategy in the Development Process of the DMC: Top-Down Approach***

There are many debates around the desired level of urban policy intervention, with Durmaz (2012) summarising that depending upon the time period and

purpose of the scheme, urban intervention is variously termed, 'urban conservation, preservation, reconstruction, renewal, regeneration, revitalisation, rejuvenation, rehabilitation, preservation, restoration, refurbishment, reconstitution, replication, demolition-redevelopment or refurbishment for current use' (2012:55). The policy-led approach can have a range of purposes: to upgrade the quality of an urban place, to regenerate the district by preserving the built heritage, to boost business and industry, and to foster tourism, among others. In the case of the DMC, the purpose was to build an entire new city district, which was an exceptional case. Since the DMC complex was transformed from a landfill into a city district, the early development plan was vital to stabilising the place in the initial stages. Unlike other cities, there was no existing community in the area. In the interview conducted, Lee (2011b), a former chief of the DMC team in the headquarters of the SBA, stated this circumstance inevitably led to a largely policy-led approach for the DMC development planning project, and strong leadership was necessary to sustain the strategies that were put in place. The Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG) and the DMC Bureau formed a partnership and established policies for the early stages of the DMC project. Byeon (2014) stated that the set policies for the early phase were applied with especial rigour, particularly including the early activation method, the development of multi-support functions, the drive to attract CCIs, the development of strategies for complexes (built environment), the encouragement of social networking amongst the diverse stakeholders, and the creation of cultural activities such as events and festivals. The DMC

project development strategies were remarkably detailed from policy strategy to complex development strategy, from cultural policy strategy to marketing strategy and business strategy. These strategies were implemented within a completely top-down approach. I have therefore described the strategies applied to the DMC primarily from the perspective of the creative city political circle, and its own unique policy features.

(i) Step-by-Step Development Planning (see Table 6.1)

In order to establish the DMC district, a detailed strategic policy was employed through the cooperation and partnership of the DMC planners, policy makers and related stakeholders. The DMC was equipped with a long-term plan (from 2002 to 2014) for its completion, and a step-by-step development plan has been employed in order to maximise the efficiency and flexibility of the development process. After the completion of the DMC master plan, policies was set by the SMG and the implementation of the strategies was managed by the SBA<sup>51</sup>.

The first stage was to develop the early activation of districts, formulating the direction of each zone – the business district, the international business and central commercial district, the educational and research district and the globalisation district. Pre-marketing activities were held during this period,

---

<sup>51</sup> The former DMC Headquarters existed in SBA until 2011, but with the extensive political restructuring of SMG in this period, SBA was affected by the political situation. Accordingly, it was followed by the restructuring of SBA and the DMC Headquarters were dismissed. Instead, teams dealing with DMC project have been involved in several headquarters by project base. Thus, at present, there is no independent department managing DMC but it is managed by team-bases in several headquarters.

such as the Seoul DMC international symposium<sup>52</sup>, a business information session in New York in 2001, and the establishment of infrastructure construction and licensing in Toronto, Canada in the same year. The SMG played a major role in this period.

The physical development of the second step required the attraction of leading developers and corporations to commercial and multi-purpose areas. Subsequently, venture companies and small and medium-sized companies were encouraged. There were three announcements for land distribution during this period, including rental property for foreign buyers, the DMC business and academic cooperation research centre, the LG CNS ICT centre, the KBS media centre, among others. Thirteen main buildings and residential areas were constructed, and the SeDCO has been held since 2008 (see section 7.2.1). The SMG, private businesses and the third sector (SBA) were the key agents during this period.

The third stage involved addressing the further needs and demands of the market in order to maintain competitiveness with external environmental transformations. To do so, the policy concentrated on vitalising the district with representative public art works, in the Plan for the Second Step of the Recreation of the DMC (by the SMG Economic Planning Headquarters), aiming to establish the DMC as the superlative hub for the Korean Wave and

---

<sup>52</sup> Seoul DMC international symposium is organised by SMG, conducted by Korea Development Institute (KDI) school of public policy and management. It is processed by three subcommittees of 'Development of state and new industrial district', 'Foreign cases', and 'DMC construction business' along with discussion sessions.

related cultural contents in North East Asia. Since 2010 the management of the area has become more prominent, and the role of the SBA has increased accordingly.

As can be seen in the table 5.1, the first and second stages of the DMC development were led by the robust top-down approach of the SMG. In the third stage, the management function and implementation process have become more important, primarily led by the SBA. During the process of evolution, the level of policy intervention and methods of policy application had to be differentiated. Here, the strategies for developing the DMC district will be illustrated according to the crucial creative city factors such as attracting creative workers (targeted CCIs), built form strategy and good infrastructure (both hard and soft).

Phase	1. Planning development period (2001~3)	2. Constructing land development (2004~9)	3. Creating district vitalisation (2010~present)
Stage	• Establishing action programme	• Land distribution • Rent and constructing buildings	• Management and administration
Key Agent	• Seoul Metropolitan Government • Urban Development Corporation	• Seoul Metropolitan Government • Private businesses • Third sector (Seoul Business Agency)	• Third sector (Seoul Business Agency)
Role	• Establishing action programme • Pre-marketing • Constructing infrastructure • Licensing	• Attracting enterprises • Inviting land-development business • Land distribution, rent • Construct core facilities	• Complex management and administration • Continuous marketing • Completing development

Table 6.1 Development planning by the stages (Source: The former official website of DMC, n.d.)

## (ii) Early Activation Method

In order to stabilise the early stage of development, it was considered vital to establish a professional organisation invested with the full authority of project promotion, with direct control over the implementation of the initial plan in the



long term. Estimating the diverse future variables from both internal and external factors, the planners strove to maintain long-term development without deviation from the plan (Byeon, 2014). To achieve this, a basic infrastructure was laid out, including an information communication network of the DMC district, Seoul proprietary facilities such as a complex management centre, and the DMC promotion room, while organisations related to the DMC such as the Seoul Animation Centre and Seoul Venture Town were relocated to the DMC district (Byeon, 2014). Attracting land-development businesses in the early stages was another essential element to building core support facilities. To entice land-development businesses, the planners introduced a high-profit facility through a competitive bidding system, and the SMG provided possible incentives such as long-term leases to the businesses. Simultaneously, the SMG and the central government directly invested in or developed low-profit facilities, and induced development in private business (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001). As illustrated in Chapter three, in similar line to the case of creative city strategies of Seoul, the top-down approach of the DMC was first, mainly engaged in building physical infrastructure.

### (iii) Strategy for Attracting CCIs

In order to build a unique, competitive creative cluster attracting tenant companies in CCIs across the world, research for benchmarking the analysis<sup>53</sup> of several counties was undertaken (DMC Master plan, 2001).

---

<sup>53</sup> Throughout a comparison amongst six information complexes in Southeast Asia – Hshin-

The research illuminated the unique tactic of an incentive strategy. For the early activation of complexes, the DMC was designated as a 'foreign investment area' by the SMG, offering several benefits for foreign investors in terms of land supply, rental offices and rental housing to strengthen the financial status of the DMC. The SMG promoted the reduction and exemption of local tax in order to attract major foreign M&E and IT companies to South Korea (The Official Website of SMG, n.d.).

More importantly, inviting major domestic companies in the M&E and IT sectors was central to the early success of the DMC. To do so, close cooperation with the first potential tenants was required (Lee, 2011b). Therefore, the planners needed to offer distinct advantages of the DMC over other competitive areas, and provide incentives as an attraction to core companies in the M&E and IT industries. Inviting leading companies from the targeted industries at the initial stage of the DMC's construction was a key part of the 'magnet' and 'flagship' strategies that were intended to then attract other related companies, both large and small, to the complex (The Media Valley Corporation et al, 2001). Consequently, large broadcasting companies, entertainment companies, and other large digital and IT conglomerates were

---

chu Science-based Industrial Park in Taiwan, IT 2000 in Singapore, Multimedia Super Corridor in Malaysia, Shanghai Hi-tech Park and Beijing Zhongguancun Science Park in China and Tokyo Teleport in Japan, as well as three industry complexes in developed countries – Cambridge Science Park in the UK, Sophia Antipolis in France, and Silicon Valley in the US – the comparison drew out the competitive points of DMC and the implications for developing plans and principal success elements, for instance target industries, developing marketing strategies, functions and facilities (DMC Master plan, 2001 ).

targeted as core flagships to be invited. Byeon (2014) claimed that it was necessary to offer lower land prices to the targeted companies in order to attract them. However, the planners were concerned that these companies might merely pursue speculative property development and take advantage of the incentives purely in the interests of real estate development, considering the notoriously speculative real estate market (Byeon, 2014)<sup>54</sup>. The sustainability of the companies' presence after an obligatory period of residence and appointed maintenance period was not guaranteed. Therefore the planners set regulations to prevent such difficulties, such as setting a minimum stay period of ten years for these companies. The rationale of the ten-year period was that the planners considered it to be the minimum compulsory period for the stabilisation and invigoration of the DMC complex (ibid). After ten years, it was anticipated that the DMC would be able to function as an endogenously sustainable district. At the same time, there have been ongoing concerns regarding the issue of long-term sustainability amongst planners. This shows that the planners acknowledged the fact that establishing the DMC with mere top-down approach could be vulnerable in terms of sustainability of the city.

#### (iv) Built Form Development Strategy

As explained in the Introduction and section 2.1.3, the DMC complex development comprises World Cup Parks, Eco Village and the DMC complex.

---

<sup>54</sup> The Korean large conglomerates and 'chaebols' are heavily connected in property speculation in the nation's real estate markets (Sohn, 2008). They operate major construction firms in order to reap profits from the state-financed reformation of the built environment, and in addition they heavily amassed real estate holdings (see Pirie, 2008).

As part of the efforts to make Seoul more 'green', and to restore the historical sense of the place (Nanjido) within the urban planning policy for Seoul, the five world cup parks and eco village were promoted as the DMC construction projects. Within the DMC complex, zoning was structured by the concept of the mini-cluster (micro-scale). As explained in the Introduction, establishing the Media and Culture axis and Digital and IT axis, zoning, and constructing the Three Functional Areas of the DMC were all intended to enhance interaction between people in the same field and to foster a better working environment.

All the dimensions are designed to coalesce in the conception of the DMC as a futuristic, state-of-the-art technology-based cluster. The development of the DMC complex design was very detailed and restrictive. It included three dimensions: the visual-aesthetic, functional and form. The visual-aesthetic dimension of complex design includes skyline, colour scheme, regulations for architecture, public design, the media facade, signage, street furniture and lighting. The functional dimension involves mixed use, greenness and active frontage. The form dimension comprises scales of blocks and plots (DMC Master plan, 2001). Creating the Digital Media Street (DMS) and planning were central to the aim of making the area a large-scale mediated environment, home to media companies (Creating Digital Media Street & Ubiquitous Space Planning, 2003). The DMS environment was planned around three key principles: intelligence, permeability, and communication (Creating Digital Media Street & Ubiquitous Space Planning, 2003). Public

designs with intelligent street lighting (called IP-intelight), E-Board (digital guide device offering various information), IP arts, and Sign-Boards using LED lights were also part of the strategy to embody the concept of the DMC. However, this plan for designing DMC built environment which aimed to create futuristic image of a district with a cutting edge technology ended up as a place where people (both residents and workers in DMC) feel a little inhumane (see 7.1 and 8.3).

*Strategy for Constructing Facilities ('hard' infrastructure): Multi-Support Functions*

Although the DMC project was chiefly driven by strong leadership with strategies established by professionals, there were some foundations laid during the planning stage for estimating the future needs of potential clients. This confirms that the planners acknowledged the value of the bottom-up approach in the planning process (in this case, the bottom-up approach involves creative workers). For instance, a survey – 'Primary Demand in Domestic Industries' – was conducted and a consortium of 'Invitation of Representative of Foreign IT Firms based in Korea' was held. Also, These exercises discovered the varied facilitating factors required for building the DMC complex: functions of international exchange (hotels, convention centres), human resource development and R&D (educational and R&D facilities), and commercial and entertainment functions (DMC Master plan, 2001).

Based on the outcomes from research for benchmarking the analysis as well as survey results, four functions of 'hard' infrastructure (in Landry's terminology) were developed for the multi-support purposes for the DMC (DMC Master plan, 2001). Firstly, building an educational-industrial centre was considered a vital element together with the cultivation of specialists to support and operate research projects via organised networks, corporations, universities and research centres. This was part of the attempt to attract highly educated creative workers, enhancing the area's transformation into a creative and innovative city. Secondly, the DMC supporting system - a one-stop administrative system - was established to support company management, legal affairs, accounting and marketing areas. Thirdly, to support international business the development of large-scale gathering places for tenants, such as convention centres, exhibition halls, accommodation and entertainment centres was considered vital. Finally, commercial and leisure/entertainment functions were required for corporations, residents and commuters that drew on the interrelationship between the educational, governmental and private sectors.

#### *Strategy for Cultural Activities ('soft' infrastructure)*

In terms of the 'soft' infrastructure (again, in Landry's terminology), activating the complex with cultural strategies was considered imperative in building and branding the DMC identity. The DMC design team promoted various events attempting to embody the concept of DMC (mostly related to digital media), such as an international media festival, 'Media City Seoul 2000',

organised by the SMG in cooperation with the SBA under the theme of 'City: Between 0 And 1'. This multimedia festival presented the future for twenty-first-century development, including programmes such as Media Art 2000, the Subway Project, City Vision. and 'Internet Fiesta' – an international festival originating in Europe with the purpose of globalising the internet, and in which a Korean team participated as Internet Fiesta Korea Gallery with film, image and sound displays. These events were held to promote the DMC district both internally and externally (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001). This intended to increase the recognition and trust of the DMC by companies and investors, and to ensure the support of both the private sector and central government. However, the result was also not much different from other cultural events that the SMG promoted for receiving Seoul as a creative city profile, as discussed in Chapter Three.

#### (v) Management after Top-Down Planning

Following the first and second phases (see table 6.1), the third phase has concentrated on the necessity of cooperation between the SMG and the SBA, and the role of the SBA has grown to be significant. Furthermore, new policies are beginning to aim towards the non-policy stage (Costa et al., 2008, see Chapter Two) of the DMC as an established and continuing district according to Park (2014a), the DMC Management Team Manager of Seoul Business Agency. As time passes, the newly built district has matured, and this has exposed the shortcomings of the one-sided, top-down, policy-led approach. As for the long-term sustainability of the area, the government

determined to alter the manner of governance, embracing an increasingly bottom-up approach (Park, 2014a). With regard to the festivals and other events held in the DMC, rather than organising the entirety of every event the government decided to limit their role and offer the DMC as a 'stage' for resident companies and whoever might choose to participate, particularly those interested in the digital M&E and ICT industries. For example, SeDCO, held every autumn as a representative festival of the DMC, was previously organised by the SBA and the SMG. The role of conceptualising the festival was undertaken by the SMG, and the implementation process was managed by the SBA. From selecting the event agency to structuring the detailed programme of the event, all the planning was under the control of the SBA. Park (ibid) stated that there is now a drive to ensure that the event is led by the firms who occupy the DMC, through their involvement in event planning and by inviting them to run their own events as showcases within the festival, generating a single harmonised event that shapes the culture and identity of the DMC.

Rather than controlling the management of the event, the SBA attempts to resolve conflicts occurring between the diverse stakeholders involved. For instance, the SBA are currently working to resolve the disagreement between Mapo-gu (a borough) office and the organisation of the Style Icon Awards (SIA), the biggest cultural event of South Korea, held annually as the only awards ceremony to celebrate fashion, and led by CJ E&M. The SBA are acting as an intermediary seeking an amicable settlement (Park, 2014a).



Considering the fact that South Korea has problematic issue which merely focusing on construction and ignoring the latter process of managing them in making urban places, this process shows that the DMC evolves in a sound manner that the planners acknowledge the significance of management process.

#### **6.1.2 *Implementation and Outcome of Top-Down Policy Strategy***

The DMC is the first and largest M&E cluster in South Korea, with the major three broadcasting companies (head office and/or branches) having relocated there, as well as all the main newspaper companies of South Korea (head office and branches). The best representative media, film and animation companies of South Korea have also moved to the DMC. Considering the transformation of the DMC district in approximately fifteen years, from landfill site to the M&E and IT cluster of Seoul, this is an outstanding achievement. Byeon (2014) affirms that this was possible with the intervention of prior public investment. Equally, as the SMG was financially sound, it did not rush to promote land sales (ibid). In this context, in terms of the numbers of tenant firms and employees, the DMC is a good example of policy-led strategy in attracting creative workers through radical measures. Although the planners originally adopted the concepts of western theories, these theories were modified to meet the needs of the DMC context. In this manner, the DMC can be regarded as a successful and original case of involving creative workers in a newly built city place.

The DMC leadership successfully accomplished its goals in three aspects from my observation. Firstly, in terms of upholding the strategic policy for long-term strategies such as the early activation method, the attraction of prominent anchor companies to the complex through step-by-step development supports Tallon's (2010) claim that the top-down model enables the development of effective long-term plans. In particular, securing the MBC was considered one of the most significant factors in attracting other related corporations and vitalising the district as a 'magnet', and this was an outstanding result of the project's endeavours. Further, Lee (2014b), claims that the application of a varied policy according to different phases enabled the efficient implementation and operation of policy. Lee had participated in the DMC project since its inception and worked for the SBA until the end of 2011, so he had oversight of the process of the DMC's development over a decade. Lee had a central role in resolving differences between the government and the private sector helping to sustain the DMC master plan in the long term. He affirmed that self-sacrifice of public sector with flexibility made this possible.

Secondly, in terms of attracting CCIs, the top-down approach was successful in generating an influx of creative workers and shaping the creative cluster. With the success of securing the relocation of MBC to the DMC, as of January 2015 the DMC hosted 241 companies in M&E contents industries including broadcasting, newspaper, game, film, animation, 179 companies in the IT and SW sectors, and 22 companies in the NT and BT sectors. This

amounts to a total of 36,481 creative workers in those sectors working in the DMC (Dmc.seoul.kr, n.d.b), cementing its place as the nation's first creative cluster. This success was primarily due to the specific context of the DMC, for which the city planners developed a bespoke strategy including financial incentives irresistible to businesses. With these policies, the planners shrewdly predicted future challenges such as the abuse of cheap rents, and this proved to be another important factor in the sustainability of the cluster. However, as the mandatory period of residence for companies is reaching an end, the sustainability of the district is taking on a greater significance.

Thirdly, the city planners attempted to maintain transparency and coherence by developing policies in line with the central DMC concept, and by establishing a clear and unique identity for the DMC area. All the strategies established by the planners and the government have been kept within the concept of the DMC as an M&E and IT cluster, and so the staging of events and the shaping of the built environment contributed to creating a powerful image of the DMC as a district of cutting-edge technology with environmental sustainability.

Though the leadership has managed to adhere to the masterplan and has developed the DMC area as planned without much deviation, I have also observed several limitations regarding the policies and implementation processes. First, the top-down planning in the DMC instigated a Korean version of gentrification, caused by the speculative real estate market – as

explained previously, a chronic problem in South Korea. Building a creative cluster focused on creative worker (B) turned the district into a glamorous media and entertainment and IT agglomerated district, with the involvement of major South Korean broadcasting companies. Unsurprisingly, the rental costs for both residential and commercial property have increased dramatically. Rental for retail premises rose to 150 million won per year in 2014, an increase of over one hundred million won (GBP 60,000) over two years (*Sbscnbc*, 2014). In terms of the rental cost of an apartment in the DMC complex, rental for exclusive use of 104m<sup>2</sup> has risen from 390 million won (about USD 375,000) in August 2013, to 475 million won (about USD 457,000) in August 2014 – which is an increase of around 85 million won (about USD 80,000) in a year (*Biz.chosun.com*, 2014,). A local resident (Anon., 2014), stated that the local residents are anxious about increasing rental prices, and that the area might become unaffordable in the near future. The turnover of facilities is too fast and the accessibility of other amenities is constrained due to expensive rental costs. Shin and Kim (2015) explains this particular phenomenon of state-led, new-build gentrification at replacing urban spaces by upscale commercial as well as residential facilities and seeing rent gaps (see Smith, 1996). The profit from the gap is shared between the state, capitalists as well as the middle-class populace which was pronounced since the 1980s in Korea (Shin and Kim, 2015).

Problems with the top-down approach within implementation were also explored. Sabatier (1986) asserts that the top-down model may

underestimate the strategies applied by street-level bureaucrats and target groups to redirect policy to their own purposes. Matland (1995) argues that the top-down approach sets specific aims for a policy, while the legislation “often requires ambiguous language and contradictory goals” (p.147). Thus the top-down model may, in practice, result in “policy failure” (p.148). The scenario suggested by Matland (1995) was observed in the DMC. In planning built form strategy, Kim (2014a) stated that pedestrian roads and parks are planned to offer plentiful space for leisure and relaxation, including active frontage with an al-fresco café culture. In addition, the built form was intended to revolve around diverse facilities such as an ice rink similar to the Rockefeller Center, New York. Greenery on the main roads is designed to act as a buffer between the DMC and its adjoining areas. However, in the process of implementation, these plans have been misunderstood and mismanaged due to ambiguous legislation. According to the landscape greening law in the SMG’s land development plan, street-level officials plant trees along the road without consideration of landscape. The trees were initially intended to be zelkova trees, which would not distract from the first-floor café landscape. However, this has not been applied. Kim (2014a) explains that this situation occurred because the value of the landscape is a matter of disagreement between local officers, and because legal obstacles distort the meaning and implementation of policy. The green areas intended to be a lawn, providing a relaxing space for people, became a line of trees that formed a barrier between the DMC district and the surrounding environment.



Figure 6.1 The DMC Green Buffer Zone (Source: Photograph (i), (ii) © Junmin Song, 2011)

Another limitation with the top-down approach is the consideration of culture as optional and secondary to the DMC district, as has been extensively discussed in the literature. The cultural activities held were used purely to increase the visibility of the DMC, increasing the number of visitors to prove the district's success. However, there were no actual cultural entrepreneurs involved, or cultural impact that could generate debates, reviews, international networking or exposure. Events were primarily organised by the government and the SBA, and the culture-related businesses in the district were ignored. Given that the district is named a 'creative' cluster with many distinctive M&E companies, this situation left much to be desired. This problem partly arose because it was still the initial stage of the DMC's

development, before the district had matured. Still, it is undeniable that the purpose of the activities to raise publicity, attracting press interest rather than celebrating the intrinsic value of culture.<sup>55</sup>

The aim of creating a large mediated urban place with cutting-edge technology across the district also proved problematic. Since technology is continually being updated, that which was up to date during the planning stages of the DMC was outdated by the time the plan was completed over ten years later. For instance, at the very beginning of the twenty-first century it was unusual to provide internet access everywhere in an urban place – streets, parks, inside and outside buildings. However, in 2015 people can enjoy fast internet access freely with Long-Term Evolution (LTE) – wireless communication of high-speed data – with their mobile phones everywhere in South Korea. Further, the technologies that were embedded in the DMC district were neither practical nor feasible. IP-Intelight and Info-Booth are designed to promote the state-of-the-art DMC provision of wireless communication systems. IP-Intelight is a basic infrastructure for establishing a ubiquitous computing environment, providing wi-fi service, basic lighting and lighting for the night landscape. Info-Booth functions as a media device for people without computers, providing a virtual real-time guide to the street regarding shops, restaurants and services such as bus stops. However, this function is no longer useful nor up-to-date in the DMC, since its function has been usurped by the mobile phone. Furthermore, in order to maintain the

---

<sup>55</sup> A detailed explanation of cultural activities will be provided in Chapter 5.1 and Chapter 7.2.

latest technology a huge budget is required, that cannot be sustained. Lee (2014b) considered this issue to be central to the sustainability of the district and its identity.

### **6.1.3 *The Bottom-Up Approach in the Korean (DMC) Context***

As explained in Chapter Four, there are two key points to consider in applying a bottom-up model to the DMC. The first is the lack of an existing community, meaning that the 'bottom level' does not exist; the second is the willingness of the community to participate (Pissourios, 2014). During the DMC planning, although a pre-investigation of the needs of potential clients was conducted, research into the needs of the community was not possible as there was no existing community in the area at that stage. The community was formed gradually together with the evolution of the DMC itself. Sabatier (1986) asserts that the fundamental flaw in the top-down approach is that it starts from the perspective of decision-makers and thus tends to overlook other stakeholders – not just the users or general public. Likewise, the DMC planning was also very one-sided in its high-level, policy-led approach, serving the interests of the Seoul city and central governments. It has been fundamentally a company-centred, property owner-centred, and government-led project.

Strategic activities based on planning objectives were implemented, and so the focus on constructing hard infrastructure only considered business purposes, and resulted in the absence of necessities such as sub-local



facilities for the community. For instance, during the face-to-face interview I conducted with local residents of the DMC, they claimed that the planning of the supralocal facilities like transportation systems (railway stations, subway stations) to serve economic purposes does not serve the convenience of local people. In fact, the most inconvenient factor they mentioned was the transportation system in its local scale. Furthermore, the top-down approach neglected other important facilities and failed to be inclusive, lacking in affordable childcare and public transport, public libraries and hospitals. The local residents are forced to drive out to other neighborhoods to access these fundamental facilities. In this type of top-down approach, focusing on particular social classes and places, as Barnes et al. (2006) argue, basic services such as supermarkets, GPs and banks are likely to be superseded by alfresco dining, street markets and cafes. Likewise, the DMC planning considered commercial facilities to be a key factor for the residence of creative workers, but not basic local facilities. Here the problem of the top-down planning of the DMC district is clearly exposed. The government attempted to build a new city cluster that was profoundly business-oriented from the planning stage onwards, ignoring community involvement, which is key to the sustainability of an area. Local people are those who generate the vibrancy of a district, not commuters. A creative city is one in which residents produce and consume city life (Karsten, 2003). Karsten (2003) criticise that in Florida's theory, creative cities aspire towards aesthetically pleasing places where creative workers can work in a leisurely context and only involve small, childless households, excluding the daily life of urban families.

Through various committees and meetings on a range of issues, the voices of major and large-scale companies were disproportionately reflected in the decision-making and management processes of the DMC. However, the community's voice has been completely ignored, not only in the initial stage – as there was no community – but also during the evolution of the district up to the present. In the interview with Park(a), when asked whether a survey was conducted to investigate the needs of community, he replied that there was not. He explained that the government or third sector (SBA) was reluctant to conduct surveys officially due to the sensitive nature of such a study to the public sector, since once the official result is revealed, the public sector ought to present a coping plan as a response immediately. Since there was no plan to respond to survey results, the public sector tended to avoid such activities (Park, 2014a) and this resulted in an inadequate reflection of the community's voice. During the face-to-face interview conducted with eight local residents, I found that they were pleased to have an opportunity to express their opinion on the place in which they live. They also desired further discussion to improve the quality of the district and consequently, their quality of life. They have been given a passive role as consumers rather than producers or even 'prosumers' in the community-building process.

The significance of community and human resources are indicated by scholars from Jacobs to Landry, as outlined in Chapter Five (5.1). However,

these issues depend on the specific community. Their historical, social and cultural character may be a significant influence if they are willing to participate in planning and decision-making processes, and the manner of their participation can vary. In western planning theories, especially within placemaking discourse, community participation through the bottom-up model has received much attention (Jacobs, 1961; Chapman and Larkham, 1999). Chapman and Larkham (1999) state that 'while the products of urban design are important they only represent key stages of a long-term and continuing process. It is the achievement of real partnerships and participation in these processes that is the central challenge' (230) (Atkinson and Cope, 1997).

The credence given to notions of collaboration and community participation in the urban dynamic has recently spread across South Korea. Byeon (2011) conducted a research with regard to "Enhancing capability of local community for social unification" in relation to Seoul claiming that since the late twentieth century, the limitations of strongly government-led authoritarianism and market-driven individualism have caused regionality and community to rise as a mechanism for social reformation. When the local community is at the centre of city governance, not only do local facilities, resources, institutional strategies correspond to interests between community members but also reproduction of daily life makes the regions better. Since 2006, in South Korea, the pilot project 'Making a Livable Community' (by the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs),

and the 'Making a Livable City' project (by the Ministry of Land, Transport and Maritime Affairs) have been initiated (Lee, 2012). Since 2010, related laws and regulations have been aligned and these have commenced as fully-fledged policy projects (Lee, 2012). Points have also been raised on the importance of related concepts such as community building, community revitalisation, community design and community engagement in the urban planning discourse (Hwang, Lee, Aeo, 2009; Kim and Lee, 2012). This has resulted in attempts to build a new model for Korean community building (see Lee, 2012; Cha, Lee and Kim, 2014). This shift has also occurred outside of academia, with several examples in Korean urban places. For example, citizens' alliances such as the Urban Action Network have emerged, solidarity movements of citizens pursuing an improved quality of life, preservation and creation of city history and culture that restores the human living environment, including a permanently established market, NeulJang (Neul means always, Jang means market), public art community, Prism, a kitchen gardening community, OhcSang (meaning rooftop), are all current community design activities emerging from the community-centred approach.

However, despite all these efforts, improvements are not apparent. In fact, the question arises as to whether the recently prominent planning theory of community building is compatible with the Korean context. Each city has different issues, potentialities and opportunities, and so planning strategies should be context-driven (Durmaz, 2012). Lee (2012) observed that sociocultural characteristics in urban residential areas of South Korea are

likely to include a lack of participation and inadequate leadership amongst the residents. Cha, Lee and Kim (2014) investigate the concept of community revitalisation in the case of community facilities in apartment housing complexes, examining the characteristics of the unique 'apartment forests' of Seoul that are generally regarded as the result of rapid industrialisation. Kim (2014a) doubted the possibility of achieving successful community building in South Korea at present due to the fact that, unlike many countries in the west, Korean society has never experienced feudalism and people form communities based more on thoughts and ideology than regional character, or culture and sub-cultures. Therefore, Kim (2014a) said it is difficult time for community building in Seoul and was not taken into account in building the DMC. Taking as an example the active use of online communities, South Korean web culture is well known, with a high rate of internet usage (81.1 percent of the population, according to Internet Usage Statistics in 2010, *Internetworldstats.com*) and the world's fastest internet connection (Sutter, 2010). Many people in Korea are comfortable forming communities with people of similar interests, irrespective of the specific place in which they are based. On the contrary, it is common for people to have no connection to their immediate neighbours in Seoul (*Yeongnam.com*, 2015). In this context, the meaning of 'community' may be different to its meaning in Europe.

The recently launched Facebook page for the DMC releases all forms of news associated with the DMC, including the resident companies, the launch

of new services and products, drama and film shooting schedules, and other events. The public are able to provide feedback, suggestions and opinions online.

## **6.2 Creative Workers**

Attracting the M&E and IT industries have become synonymous with attracting both types of creative worker in the DMC, considering that the targeted industries belong to the CCIs. As explained in Chapter Three, due to the social characteristics of South Korea I have adopted the term creative workers (A) and (B) to analyse the creative worker in the DMC. In addition, as the DMC was originally intended to include a cluster of university, R&D, industry and culture-related buildings, I add creative worker (C) to classify the people who work, study or research in university and R&D centres.

### **6.2.1 *Attracting Creative Workers (Clustering Process of M&E and IT Industries)***

#### **(i) Attracting Creative Workers (B) to the DMC**

With its policy-led approach, the DMC have successfully attracted major companies in the M&E and IT industries in South Korea with the expectation that that they would generate the synergy effect associated with the Korean Wave, and make the DMC a hub for the popular culture industry of East Asia. Companies were selected for attention in the beginning stage through a demand survey of domestic and international growth potential within the targeted industries, and further, considering the ripple effect of employment

and production, and the technology level of tenants at the time, along with the market competitiveness of the candidate companies (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001). With the 'flagship' strategy applied, it was crucial that the anchor company be internationally recognised and capable of improving the image of the DMC. The targeted anchor companies were MBC, LG CNS, LG Uplus<sup>56</sup>, CJ E&M and Cho-Joong-Dong<sup>57</sup> and these have all relocated into the DMC complex.

These relocations were the consequence of the relocation of MBC, into which the city planners invested great efforts. Although there were government-offered incentives for the targeted companies, they expressed scepticism around the possible success of the DMC project, and whether the district would actually come to rival other business districts since it had so recently been a vast landfill site (Lee, 2014b). Therefore, the concentrated endeavours to attract MBC to the DMC district were crucial in allaying this scepticism and laying the foundations for attracting other companies and related commercial, leisure and cultural facilities to vitalise the district (ibid). Enticing MBC was possible via aggressive marketing from the government in cooperation with the SBA; for instance, the DMC Bureau gave numerous presentations to the CEO of MBC and the directors of holding companies. MBC began to support the new construction works by purchasing the Sangam site in March 2007. It was an attempt to establish a new concept of

---

<sup>56</sup> LG Uplus is affiliated group of LG group, a telecommunications and mobile phone operator company.

<sup>57</sup> Cho-Joong-Dong means Chosun Daily news, Joong-ang Daily news, Dong-a Daily News that are highly circulated conservative newspapers in South Korea.

entertainment space that integrates a business facility, divided into other areas for increased efficiency and the utilisation of media contents. The new MBC Sangam Building consists of a broadcasting centre, business centre and media centre, boasting 149,755 square metres in total area. After the completion of the contract with MBC, Cho-Joong-Dong were persuaded to relocate to the DMC. Subsequently, SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) media centre,<sup>58</sup> KBS media centre and YTN<sup>59</sup>, in addition to the previously mentioned anchor companies, relocated. Now, the major broadcasting companies in South Korea are all located in the DMC. Park (2014a) stated that after confirming the relocation of MBC, attracting other major companies in the targeted industries was relatively uncomplicated. The relocation of MBC began to reshape the DMC, bringing the talents of media professionals, businesses, and service milieux as anticipated; and now, after its completion in May 2014, there is an organic gathering of commercial, leisure and entertainment facilities, with diverse cultural activities that generate urban vitality.

#### (ii) Attracting Creative Workers (A): Small, Medium-Sized and Individual Venture Companies

After successfully attracting creative workers (B) to the DMC, efforts commenced to attract creative workers (A), primarily small, medium-sized or

---

<sup>58</sup> SBS is one of the three largest public broadcasting companies in South Korea together with MBC. It was not the relocation of the headquarters of SBS, but the new construction of media centre.

<sup>59</sup> YTN stands for 'Yesterday, Today and Now' and 'Your True Network'. It is a 24-hour news channel broadcasting company.



individual venture companies in selected industries. The DMC is a district with a mixed form of industrial, business and applied arts , and the inclusion of traditional artists was not part of the plan – this distinguishes the DMC from other culture-led creative urban places. Therefore it was creative workers (A), in digital media, entertainment, IT, design, and contents development, who relocated to the DMC. This includes a broad spectrum of creative workers (A), from industrial designers to copywriters, advertisers and many more.

The policy for attracting venture companies was led by the SBA. Rental office property was offered for free (excluding a few large offices) to individuals and small-scale companies. The companies were selected through a highly competitive process, using strict criteria based on their presentation and accumulated performance. There was a strategic policy in place to build a venture support system suitable for the DMC, and to provide comprehensive support in terms of finance, market development and human resources; by introducing cooperation with large enterprises and research institutes and venture companies, and the training and supply of IT professionals to support human resources; providing early assistance for venture enterprises by activating the venture capital investment for financial support; and by constructing international business support facilities for market development.

(iii) Attracting Creative Workers (C): University and R&D Centre

In addition to creative workers (A) and (B), this thesis distinguishes one further category of creative worker, the (C) group who are involved in university or research institutions in the DMC, and can be considered to be part of Florida's 'creative professional' group. Wu (2005) argues that successful creative cities such as San Francisco, Boston and Dublin are characterised by the agglomeration of excellent universities, commercial linkage, venture capital, anchor companies and mediating organisations. The DMC city planners adopted this idea, specifically aspiring towards a place that would reinforce the Korean information and communication technology industries in promoting a new role as a world class manufacturer, consequently fostering innovation. This goal has been pursued by attempting to cultivate both institutional and business arrangements, a novel strategy in which businesses and universities work in partnership, with new relationships between R&D institutions within and outside Korea. The DMC planners strove to create university/R&D/industry hubs in the city, thereby acknowledging the advantages of having strong science and knowledge infrastructure in a city. It has also been argued that this would be a new form of involvement for Seoul citizens as cooperators in the product development chain, as 'prosumers'. However, endeavours to launch universities in the DMC complex have not been fully accomplished and this has remained an unresolved issue. Locating organisations for educational purposes, such as universities, has been limited due to legal restrictions. Kim Hyun Ju, (2014d), who is an Assistant Professor at the Korean German Institute of Technology and a media artist, explained that KGIT, established in 2009 as a research

institute and graduate school specialising in media, was not authorised to establish its graduate school due to the presence of a gas tank (categorised as a dangerous facility in the Fire Services Act) belonging to a neighbouring building within prohibited distance. KGIT is the university that contracted joint degree courses with The University of Television and Film Munich (HFF) (media production), Zurich University of the Arts (ZHdK) (media production) and signed an MOU with the Technical University of Munich (communication and bioinformatics), which was designed for the needs of the DMC. As the planners strategically pursued the inclusion of organisations for educational purposes, in particular international research institutes promoting the DMC as a global and innovative city, the KGIT was established to support the needs of the local community. However, as explained, the graduate school was relocated to another area, Deungchon-dong<sup>60</sup> in Seoul and only the research institute of KGIT was placed in the DMC complex.

At present there is no university within the district, although there are several research institutions such as the KGIT Research Centre, the DMC Industry-University Research Centre and the Bell Laboratories (US) Research Centre. As this issue (inviting a university to the DMC) remains unresolved, there has been ongoing debate regarding this matter among the DMC planners. Comunian and Faggian (2011) insists that the work of Florida (2002) on 'creative class' changed the focal point from cultural infrastructures as well as consumption of cultural products to creative production and people

---

<sup>60</sup> Deungchon-dong is a neighbourhood of Gangseo-gu, in the north of Seoul.

(skilled labor) in the knowledge (creative) economy. Comunian and Faggian (2011) asserts the role of the university is as 'providers of knowledge and innovation (mainly in the form of knowledge spillovers) and providers of human capital (in the form of skilled creative workers)' (p.190). Florida also states in the interview (2013) with McKinsey Insights that anchor institutions such as the universities and the idea–knowledge hubs cause a flow of talent in mature cities. Professor Byeon (2014) supports this view and the DMC still need to invite university for these reasons. Yet, Professor Kim (2014a) doubts that DMC already contains all the aspects required from production to distribution to consumption related to M&E and IT industries. Also, he affirms that there are companies that provide the educational programmes with respect to the related industries towards people who are interested. Thus, from his view, it is not mandatory requirement (Kim, 2014a).











<Creative Worker (B)>			<Creative Worker (C)>		
No	Picture	Name of Center	No	Picture	Name of Center
1		KBS Media Center	1		Woori Technology Multimedia R&D Center
2		CJ E&M Center	2		KGIT Center
3		Dong-A Digital Media Center	3		Pantech R&D Center
4		YTN NEWSQUARE	<div style="text-align: center;">           ⋮            and others         </div>		
5		SBS Prism Tower			
6		LG Uplus at Sangam DMC			
7		LG CNS Sangam IT Center			
<div style="text-align: center;">           ⋮            and others         </div>					

Figure 6.2 Tenant creative worker (B) and (C) in DMC (source: Photographs © The official website of DMC website, n.d.)

### 6.2.2 Elements of the Creative Milieu: Interaction and Infrastructure (Hard)

The variety of connections between cultural/creative production and urban place are manifested as a creative cluster where specialised CCIs are agglomerated in a district. In the creative cluster discourse, the members of a ‘creative community’ collaborate, share resources and cluster in proximity (Pumhiran, 2005). The DMC planners included the encouragement of spontaneous resident exchange as a significant part of the original plan, to establish a creative milieu and not just an agglomeration of businesses within the same industry (Flew, 2010). The planners envisioned that face-to-face

interactions between creative workers could boost the development of intellectual property. Therefore, diverse support mechanisms have been provided to creative workers, from networking programmes to hard infrastructure such as meeting and gathering places, and open spaces.

#### (i) Formal Interaction

Mommaas (2009) writes that cultural-creative clusters differ not only in terms of the variety of spatial and organisational scales on which they operate, but also in terms of the institutional landscape in which they are embedded. He elaborates that certain clusters are government-led, and moreover rely heavily on public money, in terms of the organisation of professionals and the support structures implied (Mommaas, 2009). The formation of the DMC network has been greatly influenced by the construction of government-led clusters and other strategic policies, with powerful political support from the government and public money through business policies. The government supports the resident companies in the DMC through marketing, management, technology and network-forming. Institutions that are shaped with the support of the government have also contributed significantly to the activation of networks. These are the DMC Occupied Firms Council, DMC CoNet (DMC Cooperation Network), DMC Industry-University Research and Company Research Clustering and Operation, and Building Global Networks and Exchange Cooperation. DMC Occupied Firms Council aims to develop and invigorate the DMC complex by promoting fraternity among members. DMC-CoNet is a representative amalgamated network formed by the SBA of

DMC-resident businesses. It was developed with the purpose of creating networks between resident companies and fostering collaboration between them. There are research networks such as the DMC Industry-University Research, intended to lay foundations for joint research and networking among resident companies and research centres, and also Company Research Clustering and Operation, which is a research cluster supported by the government. There is also a structure for building global networks and raising business productivity for the global marketplace (Byeon, 2009; see table 6.2). The report on *The Development Direction for the DMC and Its business structure* analysed the qualities of exchange and networking between the DMC resident companies: its findings stated that creative workers gain information regarding research and technology development, domestic market trends and through cooperative projects. On the other hand, limited information is available on global market trends, core manpower, competitors and their products. In these formal networking systems, driven by government, it can be seen that all groups of creative workers, (A), (B) and (C), participate and benefit.

Through these diverse formal networking systems led by the SBA, such as the DMC CoNet, positive effects were evident. For instance, the KGIT signed MOUs with companies in the DMC including KBS Media, and received numerous applicants and students from the DMC companies. In addition, Millets – a company operating in the field of high functional activity outdoor clothes and high value added design – developed partnerships with other

companies in the DMC cluster, producing a new design with Seoul Design Studio (a Seoul Metropolitan government-affiliated organisation) and developing an ERP (Enterprise Resource Planning) system in collaboration with a corporation, One-Zero-One System. The company moved into the high-tech industry centre in the DMC in 2008 and has achieved continued growth, innovation and increased employment since its relocation. This was possible through constant cooperation and interaction with other companies residing in the DMC. For example, Millets has increased its turnover of 19,653 million won (approximately 20,000,000 USD) by 31 percent since 2008, and increased employment by 12 people (13 percent).

Network	Consist of Network and status of cluster operation
<b>DMC Occupied Firms Council</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aim: DMC complex development, DMC complex vitalisation, cultivate friendship amongst resident companies in DMC</li> <li>• Start date: 27/5/2005</li> <li>• 25 companies (beginning with 13 companies)</li> <li>• Meeting : 39th</li> </ul>
<b>DMC-CoNet</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aim: forming networks between resident companies in DMC, shaping cooperation foundation</li> <li>• Representative integrated network for resident companies in DMC</li> <li>• 60 companies resident in DMC</li> <li>• Meeting: a quarterly meeting (3rd in total)</li> </ul>
<b>DMC Industry-University Research Cluster</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aim: building foundations for joint research cooperation network among resident firms</li> <li>• Regular meetings, seminars, sharing technology and building cooperative schemes</li> <li>• M&amp;E, digital contents, S/W, ICT businesses of DMC</li> <li>• Target: resident companies, supporting organisation, research institute and university professors, etc.</li> <li>• Research for health business model, sensibility UI (User Interaction) research group, etc.(30 companies in total, 4 universities, 2 research institutes)</li> </ul>
<b>DMC Research of Company Cluster</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government support business joint research cluster</li> <li>• Area: U-health core technology and business development</li> <li>• Period: 01.01.2009 – 31.12.2009</li> <li>• Members: 7 institutions in total</li> </ul>
<b>Building Global Networks and Exchange, Cooperation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aim: Building global networks and improving global business competitiveness</li> <li>• France/Europe business environment briefing</li> <li>• 10 companies</li> </ul>

Table 6.2 The DMC cluster status of the Network Cooperation System (Source: Byeon, 2009)

## (ii) Informal Interaction

Mommaas (2009) notes that in cultural cluster research as well as planning history, emphasis has primarily been on spatially located clusters, for



instance industrial parks, quarters, districts (e.g. the Manchester Northern Quarter). In contrast, the innovation literature and studies of the functioning of cultural clusters address the distinction between co-location and co-production (Mommaas, 2009). Mommaas (2009) states that co-location can have locational advantages such as subsidised facilities and a local strategic cultural policy, but can be weak in developing organisational interaction or collaboration. Co-producers, meanwhile, working on a project together, can lead to organisational interaction without sharing a common physical space (ibid). In the DMC, a strategic approach combining co-location and co-producers was introduced.

The DMC, by employing preferential treatment for targeted companies including low tax and free rent under government policy, attracted foreign and domestic businesses to the DMC to produce an 'agglomeration effect' and 'spatial proximity effect'. Social network relationships are considered to be easier to sustain when actors are situated in close proximity (Gordon and McCann, 2000; Simmie, 2004:1098, cited in Kong, 2009). The close proximity in a district can increase a series of informal interactions, generating synergy and new knowledge through interrelationships based on face-to-face meeting (Choi, 2012). In interview, Kim (2014d) explained that informal networking and interaction in a cluster, arising from unplanned face-to-face contact and casual, flexible relationships, is efficient in building cooperation. Unexpected encounters facilitated collaborative work organically with other creative workers (A) and (C) in the cluster. Kim (2014d),

as a media artist, promoted collaborative art exhibitions with a digital performance artist, who is also a lecturer in the KAIST Graduate School of Culture Technology (The research institute of KAIST is resident in the DMC).

The different scales of proximity can be categorised through the level of local and non-local forms, also taking into consideration the developmental stage of a cluster (Oerlemans et al., 2007), and may be differentiated by the developmental level of complexes and quarters/districts. In the DMC, the agglomeration effect within the district was successful and the interaction level is very high (Byeon, 2009). For example, in the DMC Hi-Tech Industry Centre, where most of the venture companies are agglomerated in a single building, dynamic interaction occurs. Yu Jungkyoo (2014), a head of a department in Finco Designm a venture company, and Park Jaebum (2014b), who is a CEO of Tak, a marketing and platform venture company, stated that they have built an especially solid partnership through frequent unexpected encounters within the same building, and the two companies now share an office with further collaboration planned. However, interaction between the DMC and outside areas has proven difficult due to the lack of transformational links with other business districts in Seoul (Byeon, 2009).

The knowledge spillover<sup>61</sup> has been much discussed by Marshall (1922) and in other creative city discourses (Landry, 2000; Cooke and Simmie, 2005;

---

<sup>61</sup> Carlino (2001) defines knowledge spillover within knowledge management economics that it includes a spillover effect of promoting technological improvements in an area via one's own innovation.

Knudsen et al., 2008). This phenomenon can be achieved by utilising a district as a breeding ground for knowledge creation and sharing due to the accessibility of markets and resources. In addition, through the exchange of information between different fields, the process of 'creative destruction' occurs through the acquisition of a variety of information and knowledge operators through meetings with various businesses. Kim (2014d) claimed to receive creative stimulation and inspiration by participating in the DMC SeDCO Festival, since the events allow companies and universities in the cluster to show and exhibit their works, and to work together to generate innovative products, services and art works. Through various events and showcases held in the cluster, the companies promote and diffuse their services by allowing audiences to participate and experience their technology, services and products. Song Jiwon (2014b), who is a former CEO of the venture company Blind Men and Elephant, stated that through the networking in the district people could share their portfolios and introduce their companies. He recounted once discovering a competition for designing different field products through a meeting, applied and won the competition. An unforeseen opportunity therefore presented itself to expand his field of work. Communication and networking between heterogeneous sectors was found to be efficient and productive for the creative environment.

### (iii) The DMC 'Hard' Infrastructure: Gathering Spaces; Cultural and Commercial Facilities

In terms of building infrastructure for the DMC as an aspect of supporting

network-forming within the cluster – as indicated in the idea of multi-support functions – the DMC planners concentrated on constructing diverse facilities and indoor meeting spaces, both large-scale and small-scale, for creative workers. The small-scale networking spaces for creative workers and companies in the district are well-equipped. Inside one building, the DMC Hi-Tech Industry Centre, there are seven meeting places that can be rented and are available to anyone, including medium-sized and small meeting rooms. In total there are 39 halls, studios, and meeting rooms (small, medium and large) available for hire in the DMC. These gathering spaces are intended to promote vibrant networking in order to generate innovation and creativity, and to help the district play a role as a stage for such performers.

In a survey conducted on possible improvements to the DMC facilities, approximately 53 percent of creative workers affirmed the need for more public places, followed by an improved transportation system, library and green areas. Song (2014b) explains that although there are many gathering places, there is a lack of information for users on accessing the facilities. It is not, therefore, a matter of the quantity of spaces but of the use of spaces.

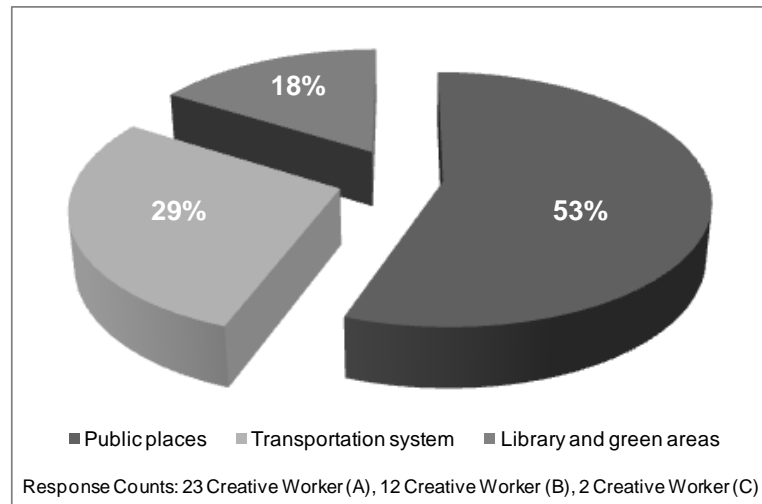


Figure 6.3 Possible improvements to the DMC infrastructure © Junmin Song, 2014

Aside from small-scale gathering places, the DMC hosts a multi-support functional system including large-scale meeting places designed to boost global business, such as a convention centre and a five-star hotel in addition to recreational and commercial facilities. The five-star Stanford Hotel Seoul was completed in 2011. However, except for this hotel large-scale gathering spaces and commercial facilities are underdeveloped in the DMC, as the ambitious aim of establishing landmarks involves lengthy processes and delays. The DMC landmark project plan originally included skyscrapers comprising facilities for accommodation, culture, meetings and business over a site of 95,638m<sup>2</sup> (Lee, 2014) at the centre of the DMC complex. This plan was initially promoted during the tenure of the former mayor of Seoul city, Oh, with the name 'SeouliteTower': it was to be 640m high with 133 stories, anticipated to be the world's second highest building in 2008 (*Sisafocus.co.kr*, 2015). However, immediately following the selection of a

project promoter, the recession and property crisis in Seoul caused the project to be put on hold, and it remains a wasteland (ibid). Originally, this landmark building was intended as a pivotal point of the area, a centre of commercial, recreational and cultural facilities for the DMC district. The lack of commercial and entertainment facilities has been noted in the interviews held with both creative workers and local residents. In the survey undertaken by the DMC development group in 2009 (see table 6.3), the most inconvenient factor in the DMC was identified as 1) inadequate public transportation; 2) lack of conveniences including restaurants and shopping centres; 3) lack of cultural facilities. Park (2014b) observes that the district seems entirely business oriented, and so residents consider the DMC as a workplace without leisure and entertainment elements. Currently the DMC has only two cinemas that are not activated, and one gallery, which is also used as the DMC promotion hall.

Western creative city theories consider not only daytime activity, but also the vibrancy of nightlife, as Florida has emphasised. Due to the lack of commercial and entertainment infrastructures, night-time activity in the DMC has not been activated at all. This certainly indicates that DMC as a creative milieu is differentiated from the western model of creative city.

Aside from indoor space, there is also a need for public places to act as assembly points. There are a total of eight public places and cultural venues within the DMC complex: three parks, four plazas and one events boulevard,

in addition to five World Cup Parks and other parks in residential areas. The discourse of the creative milieu is concerned with the interchange between the tangible and intangible, and is based on the foundation of hardware and software (Landry, 2000; Andersson and Anderson, 2006). The atmosphere of the city – what Landry (2000) calls soft infrastructure and what Andersson and Anderson (2006) refer to as the ‘cultural infrastructure’ of the DMC – is illustrated in the next section.

### **6.2.3 *Locational Preferences***

#### **(i) Creative Workers (A) and (C)**

The benefits of social interaction are clear to the creative workers in the (A) and (C) groups in the DMC. The survey conducted regarding satisfaction with the networking system found that almost 89 percent of creative workers (A) and (C) gave positive answers. In providing reasons for this, around 44 percent identified strengths of the cluster including co-work, the exchange of ideas and interaction with people in similar fields. Other responses included their company’s improved reliability, engagement with cutting-edge media technology and the experimental environment. There were neutral and negative answers including the sentiment that there was no gain and no loss. Song (2014b) noted that, “It is good to network with people as a start-up because I can learn know-how, discuss the law of policy and the latest technology trends, and secure diverse points of views as to whether there are missing parts in my work”. Kim (2014d) was also satisfied with the networking level of the cluster, saying that she has taken advantage of being

in the cluster, being introduced to opportunities and inspiration, and producing tangible works out of these. Creative workers (A) and (C) are satisfied with both formal and informal interaction, and have gained advantages through social networking, casual encounters, varied events and activities held in the DMC.

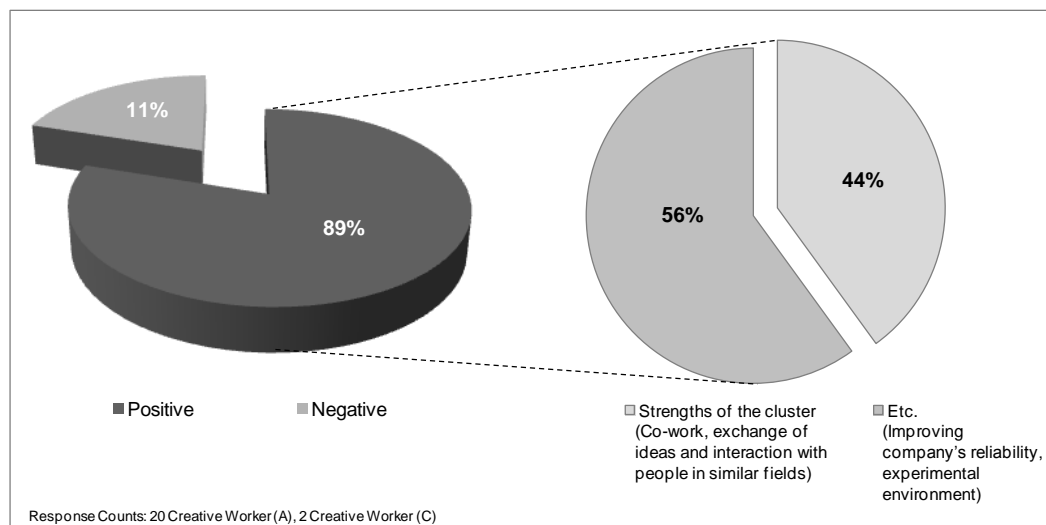


Figure 6.4 Level of Satisfaction of interaction for creative worker (A), (C) in DMC © Junmin Song, 2014

Differences between western theory and the DMC practice can be observed in the behaviour of creative workers and their locational preferences. A key finding of the interviews undertaken for this research was that very few of the DMC's creative workers expressed much desire for nightlife amenities such as bars. 63 percent of creative workers did not prefer these amenities to be present within the district. Park (2014b) stated that creative workers can focus more on their work, whereas a higher level of nightlife would make the DMC district too crowded and too noisy, with people in the DMC for leisure



rather than work. Interviewees also noted that it would be difficult to maintain the clean environment they currently enjoy. Kim (2014d) expressed a similar view, that nightlife facilities neither enhance their creativity nor their productive outcomes. There is already the Hongdae<sup>62</sup> area only 2.7 miles away from the DMC, which is famous for its entertainment and nightlife culture. Park (2014b) stated, “I work here and play in Hongdae”. Here, the differences are evident between western theories of creative city strategy (i.e. Florida’s emphasis on nightlife economy) and their manifestation in the DMC.

However, creative workers expressed a strong desire for both tangible and intangible cultural elements. The survey question asking for the most required environmental factor for stimulating creativity (see Figure 6.5), the highest ranking answer was the cultural environment (50 percent), followed by places for relaxation (33.3 percent), and others such as a larger-scale support system for start-ups, a convenient public transport system, and collaborations between creative workers (A) and (B). Kim (2014d) stated, “it would be a lot better to work and helpful if there were more cultural resources. The lack of cultural amenities makes this place dull and unattractive.” Yu Jungkyoo (2014) also noted that the “lack of cultural facilities such as trendy places, galleries, varied restaurants and visually pleasing cafes make me lose interest in this place”. Considering that the target users of the DMC are those who work in the creative industries, the weakest point of DMC’s infrastructure is the inadequacy of the environment

---

<sup>62</sup> See section 4.2.2.

to inspire and stimulate its workers.

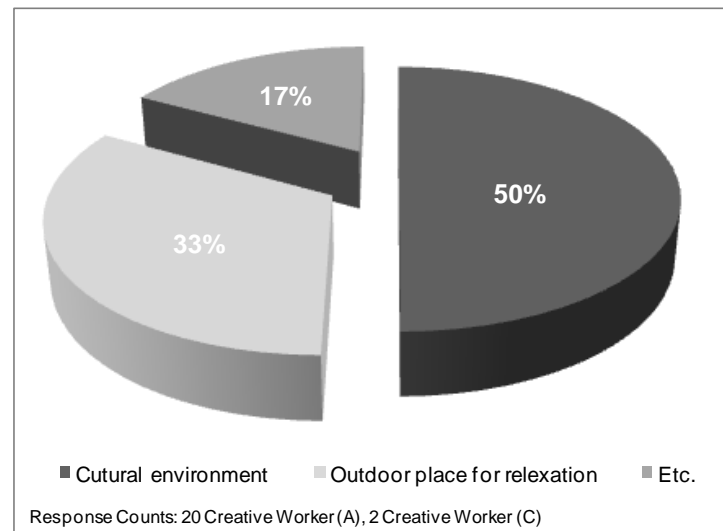


Figure 6.5 The most required environmental factor for stimulating creativity ©Junmin Song, 2014

Alike the result of table 6.3, Park (2014b) stated that satisfaction largely derives from the free and cheap rental policy. As previously discussed, 100 percent of creative workers (A) responded in interview that the reason for moving into the DMC complex was the economic advantage of the rent-free policy. Yu (2014) confirmed that, “the only reason I decided to move here was the free rent. It makes fixed expenses much lower and this affects my business hugely.” The creative worker (A) is located in the cluster for financial reasons rather than preference for the environment. This means that the sustainability of the district is hugely reliant on the financial support of the government, which is unstable and limited. A district cannot be sustainable in the long-term and be endogenously maintained when creative workers are attracted by policy and not by their organic willingness to move

to the place. Again, there is always the risk inherent in the itinerant nature of creative workers, especially when markets and careers are maturing.

The most convenient factor in DMC		
No	List	Percentage
1	Low-price rent	26.4%
2	Followed by support from the government(SBA)	22.7%
3	Expectation with networks	14.7%
The most inconvenient factor in DMC		
1	Inconvenience of transportation	
2	Lack of convenient facilities including restaurants and shopping mall	
3	Lack of cultural facilities	

Table 6.3 The convenient and inconvenient factor for creative workers in DMC \*Source: Modified from Byeon, 2009)

#### (ii) Creative Worker (B)

The survey conducted for Choi's paper, 'The Structural and Spatial Characteristics of Network Actors in Mini Cluster for Creative Milieu: The Case of Digital Media City' (2012), on satisfaction with different networks revealed that for government, university and venture, the level of satisfaction was above average, and medium/large companies showed satisfaction levels of less than average. According to the survey I further conducted, compared to the level of satisfaction of creative worker (A), (C) (72%), 28 percentage interviewees from the creative worker (B) group replied that they were satisfied with the environment of the DMC (see Figure 6.6). Yet the interviewees were satisfied with the digital, technology-friendly environment rather than the networking system.

The reason for the low levels of satisfaction for creative worker (B) is explained by Ahn Jeongil (2014), a manager in the development of next-generation contents TF in the music business of CJ E&M. He stated, “in large conglomerates, the individual must be to be systematically ‘used’ to a great extent for profitability.” He also explains that there is not enough time to do any activities in the district, and accordingly, not enough time to ‘feel’ and ‘experience’ the DMC district. He says, “as soon as I go to work in the morning, only excepting the time I have lunch and breakfast, I am stuck in my office.” He affirmed, as a creative worker (B), that he did not gain any benefit from being involved in the cluster. This shows that these groups are not affected by facilities for networking and interaction. For the (B) group, their company is already mature enough not to be affected by this environment. This evidence supports the argument that the influential western theories of the creative city, emphasising urban leisure and networking, cannot be uncritically adopted for the Korean working environment.

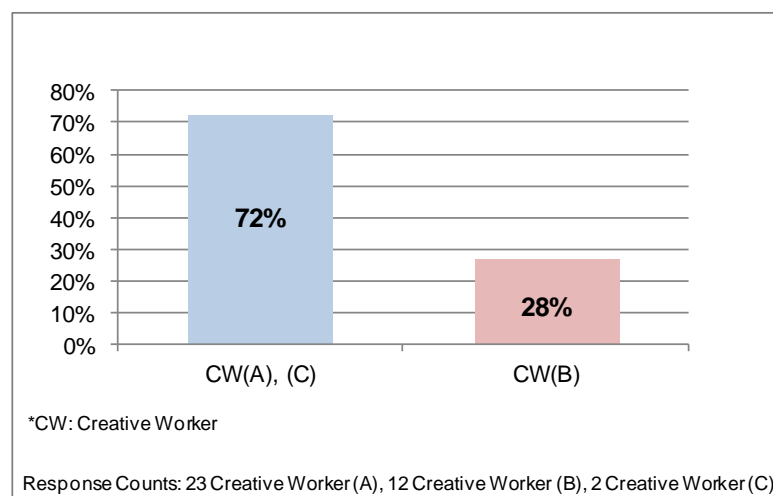


Figure 6.6 Percentage of satisfaction with DMC as a creative milieu for creative workers (A), (B), (C) © Junmin Song, 2014

### (iii) Mechanisms for Creative Environment Building in the work of Florida and in the DMC

In forming a creative cluster, the DMC mechanism of attracting creative workers and generating a creative milieu is distinguished from Florida's theory. He established creative city policies that centre on cultural infrastructure and the use of creativity and cultural resources as tools. The mechanism of his theory is that, by attracting a creative workforce with these good infrastructures, a tolerant environment and a good quality of life produces creativity and innovation such as advanced technology and vibrancy of urban environment. This in turn produces a new group of creative class, generating a virtuous circle of city (ibid). On the other hand, the Seoul city government's first priority was to attract prominent creative workers (B) by offering economic benefits, not by emphasising good infrastructure or the social perspective of the place, which did not at that point exist. The next wave of creative workers (B), attracted by the major creative workers (e.g. MBC), were followed by cultural infrastructures, amenities and leisure/entertainment facilities. This shows that Korean government and creative workers (B) may place less value on soft infrastructure and the social and cultural dimensions of a place compared with the western creative workers informing Florida and Landry's theories. In Korea, the economic dimension and business perspective is far more dominant.

The relocation of creative worker (A) to the DMC is, like that of creative worker (B), driven by financial benefits. A report *The development direction for the DMC and its business structure* (Byeon, 2009), presented the findings of a survey undertaken by the DMC development group, showing that the motivation for moving into the DMC for creative workers was low rental costs (26.4 percent) followed by support from the government (SBA) (22.7 percent) and expected networking opportunities (14.7 percent). In Florida's theory, the average creative worker's salary was higher than the average salary, however in the DMC in practice, the creative worker (A) group is highly dependent on investment. This is particularly true for start-up businesses.

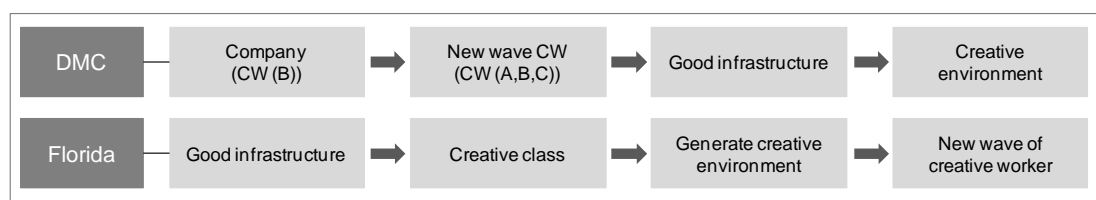


Figure 6.7 Comparison of the mechanisms of creative environment building between Florida and the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014

## Conclusion

In order to investigate the main research question on whether this newly built city could become a 'creative' and 'distinctive' urban place and generate creative outcome in the district [RQ1], and meeting the government's aim of 'local globalness' [RQ4a], this chapter attended to an extensive empirical research of our principal location, the Seoul DMC from policy, political and

socio-cultural perspectives. I conducted the analysis based on the criteria derived from Chapter Five and within the rhetorical claims in the DMC policy that the DMC is a creative urban place. In order to do so, it analysed the location, the DMC, with two criteria derived from our generic areas – policy and management, and the creative worker – in addition to sub-criteria derived from western-originated theories and from empirical research of the Korean local context

The newly established district of the DMC has been led by distinctive policy intervention throughout its evolution from 2002 to the present. The planners and policy makers attempted to adjust the level of policy intervention depending on the development stage of the district. The successful dimension of this strategy is in forming the nation's first planned creative cluster specialising in M&E and ICT industries, with companies of varying scale and diverse individuals within the selected industries. In order to create a new district from a landfill site, the robust top-down approach was deliberately applied in conjunction with extremely detailed policy strategies. This has drawn out active social networking as well as both formal and informal interaction between the residents and the creative workers within the district. The outcomes of these networks and interactions proved successful from an economic perspective. However, the limitations of this approach were revealed in the creative worker (B) group, who were positioned in a leadership role rather than gaining much benefit from the cluster.

Following this investigation, the next chapter will analyse the DMC as a creative urban place from visual, spatial and cultural perspectives.



## **Chapter Seven**

### **The Seoul DMC: Analyzing the Creative Urban Place II: The Built Environment and Creative Life**

Also using the key criteria derived in Chapter Five, this chapter will succeed the analysis of the DMC in the last chapter by paying attention to the remaining two indicators of creative placemaking: 3) built form, consisting of hard and soft infrastructure in terms of the principles of diversity and authenticity, and 4) vibrant creative/cultural activities generating authenticity among creative people. Again, the analysis here will feed into the discussion of the DMC as a creative urban place later in Chapter Eight.

#### **7.1 Placemaking in the DMC: Built Form**

##### **7.1.1 *Diversity vs. Authenticity of Built Form***

###### **(i) Visual Elements in the DMC**

In terms of its visual dimension, the DMC followed a design for a futuristic, environmentally-friendly city supporting the overarching concept of the DMC and supporting the city of Seoul in meeting the challenges of competitive information technology and globalisation (DMC Master plan, 2001). The built environment of the DMC was intended to create a harmony of the facilities and surrounding buildings by unifying the colours and materials used (ibid). Although there were attempts to add variation, the overall built environment

strove towards a unity of the whole environment to create a strong embodiment of the DMC concept, including a colour scheme for the entire region and a bright, clean, future-oriented atmosphere (Final report of the DMC environment design plan and the DMS basic design, 2005).

In particular, from the planning stage the colour scheme of the buildings was recommended to be used at medium/high brightness, low saturation, with achromatic and warm colours on a background of monotonous colour (Final report of the DMC environment design plan and the DMS basic design, 2005). Individual architecture was considered another necessity in accordance with the intention for architectures themselves to create a new urban vision that would fit well with the objectives of the DMC (2011b). The large sections of buildings are primarily constructed in a glittering all-glass, skin-and-bones style. Such a building façade is intended to foster permeability, with transparent façades for diverse activities and forms, digital links between people and activities, and digital portals to other places and other times.

The floorscape is also filled with achromatic colour to harmonise with the surrounding environment (Final report of the DMC environment design plan and the DMS basic design 2005). In terms of pattern, the application of a small amount of accent colour, based on the highlight colour, to the provision of facilities planning provides stability, pleasure and a light atmosphere. Street design used a simplified palette consisting of the colours of natural

materials. Any colours judged too dark were excluded in consideration of use and sustainability (ibid).

The apartment-dense residential area was planned with a cosy, comfortable colour in order to ameliorate the image of hierarchical structure (Final report of the DMC environment design plan and the DMS basic design, 2005). Colour was balanced between bright and low saturation aiming to create a harmony between the buildings in apartment complexes, by directing the changes of colour within the dominant colour scheme (ibid). In particular, the use of graphics was banned to ensure harmony with the natural landscape (see Figure 7.1 (iii), (iv)).

In terms of the night landscape, in order to represent an image of human-technology interaction and to change the existing image of the digital world, media signs and boards were intended to be highly visible as an important factor to the visual aspect of the DMC environment. Therefore, an active image of the night was considered in formulating the colour plan for the buildings of the DMC. An original night landscape has been produced in the DMC via the planning of three-dimensional light. For the construction of a building in the DMC zone by the private sector, developers are recommended to obtain planning permission when using either digital media night lighting or IT technology (Lee, 2011). In terms of construction along the DMS roadside, in contrast with the distribution of planar light throughout the whole DMC complex, a vertical and horizontal light was suggested to create

a sense of three-dimensional space (see Figure 7.1 (v), (vi)).



Figure 7.1 Change of Colour Scheme of the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014 (source: All the photographs © Junmin Song, 2014)

## (ii) Where is Real Diversity?

Jane Jacobs (1961) questions the clearing of city blocks for shaping a neat and orderly environment by consulting her experiences as a resident in New

York's Greenwich Village. She writes, "There is a quality even meaner than outright ugliness or disorder and this meaner quality is the dishonest mask of pretended order, achieved by ignoring or suppressing the real order that is struggling to exist and to be served" (Jacobs, 1961:15). Homogeneity can be, in many cases, created by visibly identical uses of buildings as well as their style – one that Jacobs argues is boring. Meanwhile, the DMC's objective of creating a bright, clean, and future-oriented atmosphere (Final report of the DMC environment design plan and the DMS basic design, 2005) resulted in a district with large-scale contemporary architectures in an array of united colour schemes through the whole neighbourhood, from the colours of the architecture to the colours of the floorscape. In Jacobs's view, the DMC's architectural landscape may be regarded as pretentious and ugly with its homogenous buildings, colours and all-glass texture. This visual creates an image of mass-produced architecture that serves a consumerist society, but not an individualistic or diverse environment (see Figure 7.2).

Jacobs' prescription of the mingling of dissimilar styles of architecture and a variety of levels of maintenance and functionality is not present in the DMC. Although there were no preexisting buildings or organic landscape, the district was planned with unity rather than diversity in mind, especially in terms of the daytime visual environment with its similar colours, textures, and brand new buildings. While the nighttime colours of the DMC landscape are diverse with the LED lights in buildings and their media walls, the colour of daytime is grey and monotonous with cool tones. The contrast between

daytime and nighttime in this landscape is dramatic. It is not necessary to adhere to a strict cool colour tone, reducing colour diversity, in order to achieve the image of a 'futuristic' environment.

Another important method of creating mixed-use neighborhoods has been suggested in many works of urban design literature as a desired physical pattern to make an area animated, attractive and safe (Jacobs, 1961; Alexander et al., 1977; Coupland, 1997; Montgomery, 1998) but has not been successfully captured in the development of the DMC. Mehta (2009) asserts that in contemporary development of district zones, the varied functions of inner areas in a neighborhood such as living, working, shopping and leisure operating all together is classified as mixed use. However, he advocates that true mixed use must be formed on a micro-scale. Otherwise, this type of physical pattern results in little sharing of facilities and public spaces (Mehta, 2009). Likewise, the functions of the DMC are completely separated between the business area and residential area, and even the green area is not integrated to the core of the DMC district, as explained earlier. Although attempts have been made to involve commercial functions in the first and second floors of buildings, to attract people to the street and make the building frontage live, the fundamental development plan by each functional zone cannot expect the results that true mixed-use can offer. Consequently, in the DMC there is a lack of opportunity to meet and interact, which can also be linked to the low density of the DMC district (see section 5.3.2).

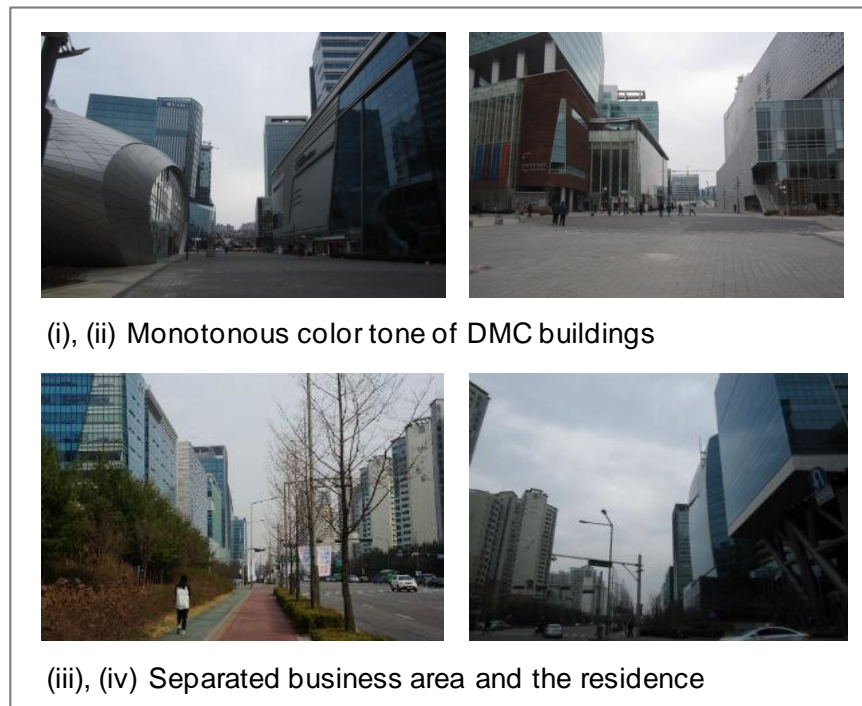


Figure 7.2 Lack of Diversity in Built Environment of the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014 (source: All the photographs © Junmin Song, 2014)

### (iii) Creating Authenticity in the DMC

According to Jacobs, it is 'authenticity' that is vital to creating urban diversity. This definition of diversity involves the combination of newness and oldness. The main concept of the DMC in the planning stage was to incorporate Korean culture into the city, and therefore the plan was discussed and evaluated in terms of interpretation of the Korean Wave (Kim, 2014a). The planners conceptualised and identified the Korean Wave as the hybridity that bridges national or indigenous and globally shared cultures (see section 3.1.2). Based on this conceptualisation, the DMC planners aimed to put this idea into practice in an urban place where the boundary between eastern and western cultures would be blurred. In particular, Kim argues that the

foundation of the DMS is originally rooted in Korean culture, but the application and implementation of this concept has resulted in an international look. For instance, The DMS applied the road width and block sizes of Insa-dong in the Jongno-gu district (see Figure 7.3 (i)), often considered a traditional street (Ch'oe and Pak, 2005), in addition to height of high-rise shopping arcades in Myeong-dong in the Jung-gu district (see Figure 7.3 (ii)), the main shopping and tourism area in Seoul (Dong.junggu.seoul.kr, n.d.) The images of Insa-dong and Myeong-dong are used to show this and compare to the DMC (Kim, 2014a). However, as can be seen from Figure 7.3 (iii), (iv), it is difficult to identify the Korean aspect of the city. Not only individual features of buildings, but also the whole physical built environment seem unrelated to Korean culture.

Although the modern, glittering surfaces and well-organised greenery within the DMC strive to express its newly created local particularities and identity, the historical vestiges of the location have remained intact adjacent to the futuristic city landscape. The edge of DMC shows the clear contrast between the state-of-the-art the DMC district and the old neighbourhood of SuSaek in the north, and abandoned kitchen gardens in the south (see Figure 7.3 (v), (vi)).





Figure 7.3 Authentic aspect of the DMC Landscape © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: Photograph (i) *Naver*cast of *Insa-Dong*, n.d.; Photograph (ii) *Naver Daehanmiinguk gusukgusuk*, n.d.; Photograph (iii), (iv), (v), (vi) © Junmin Song, 2014)

Meanwhile, the World Cup Parks project is an endeavour of historical restoration, the preservation of local particularities and the inclusion of Nanjido's sense of place, to return the formerly pleasant, environmentally friendly nature of Nanjido to its citizens. According to the survey conducted (see Figure 5.11), the five parks are the best loved, most frequently used,

and emotionally significant places in the whole DMC area among both residents and workers. 45 percent of interviewees replied that their favourite place in the DMC area is one of these five parks, followed by Nuri Dream Square (35 percent). However, these parks are acknowledged as an entirely separate project, not as part of the DMC project, to both creative workers and residents. During interviews, I found that these five parks have become separated from the DMC in the minds of creative workers, both physically and perceptually. Therefore, the strategic endeavour to reconnect them in a coherent concept is an important requirement.

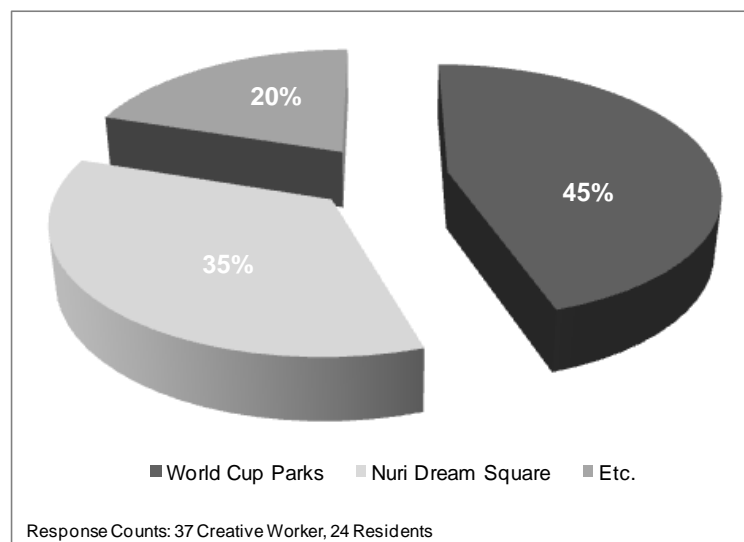


Figure 7.4 Favorite places for both residents and workers © Junmin Song, 2014

### 7.1.2 Creating Public Places in the DMC

(i) Inactive public places [see diagram]

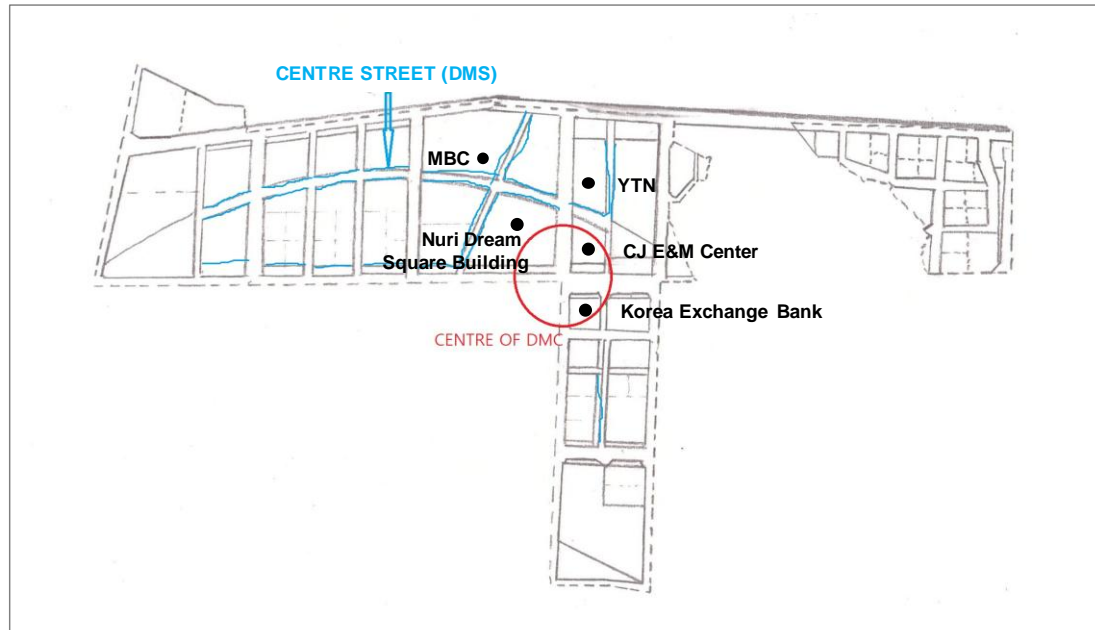


Figure 7.5 Central Public Spaces of the DMC, Centre of the DMC and the DMS (Source: Adopted from The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001 and modified).

Pedestrian roads, parks, and open spaces are intended to make the DMC a pedestrian-friendly district and to offer plentiful space for leisure as well as relaxation. However, from my two times of site observation, the DMC public spaces were inactive.

Also, the central area (see Figure 7.5) is designated for use as 1) retail market, store, venue (open studio, an experimental theatre); 2) an assembly point (exhibition hall, information centre); 3) a variety of cafes, snack bars, restaurants and convenient stores. In building a human-scale façade, for instance, the Culture Contents complex applies the principle that the ground floor of a building is utilised as a film museum, experience centre, experience studio and cafeteria. On the second floor are facilities such as a multi-purpose auditorium, image editorial room or image material reading room.

With this plan, the central area is the most densely populated area in the DMC and is the main location for various exhibitions, events and showcases with major companies such as CJ E&M and YTN and Nuri Dream Square.<sup>63</sup> Although the open space is designed as a pedestrian-friendly district with cars prohibited on the DMS and a number of public spaces for relaxation, users (both creative workers and residents) feel the lack of public spaces or desire more user-friendly open spaces.

First, active frontage, an attractive place to walk through and to linger in, is planned in the DMS. In order to induce vigorous and dynamic activity in the central street frontage (see figure 7.5), the lower floor section of buildings at the roadside (1F, 2F) is planned at the human scale, with harmony between the horizontal plane and elevation (Final report of the DMC environment design and the DMS design plan, 2005). To promote the media image of the DMC complex, the lower floor (first story) of the buildings in the central roadside have been designed to comprise a transparent façade for more than 50 percent of the wall. To create dense population and high population flow, it was recommended to adopt a household formula for areas of more than 3.6m. The transparent façades are intended to encourage permeability by blurring the boundaries of inside and outside, public and private. However, some of the dark achromatic colour of the buildings does not function as

---

<sup>63</sup> Nuri Dream Square is a broadcasting business centre constructed by the Ministry of Information and Communication in co-operation with Korea ICT industry promotion agency (KIPA), and includes a variety of convenient facilities inside.

planned, and the low saturation chroma of building façades blocks the permeability of inside and outside (see Figure 7.6 (i), (ii)). For instance, on the ground floor of the YTN building, there is an open studio where the public can experience the broadcasting studio. It has a transparent façade to show inside the broadcasting suite from outside, intended to create an active and diverse frontage. However, the dark achromatic colour of the façade disrupts the permeability and creates the image of vibrant frontage. Furthermore, interaction between people and the building, interior and exterior, is rarely observed (see Figure 7.6 (i), (ii)).

Second, a mismatch between the planning of street space and street use were observed from my fieldwork. For instance, the open spaces demonstrate a lack of small-scale intervention of public design. The Figure 7.6 (iii), (iv) (sidewalks) shows that the large scale of the sides of the buildings has resulted in the space surrounding them remaining unused. Although the buildings are large scale, only the active use of the façade was considered, not the sides and back thus, it is relatively untraveled byway. A similar problem is observed in the main plaza of the DMS. The most active and crowded place lacks public seating and other amenities (see Figure 7.6 (v) (vi)). This reduces opportunities for residents, workers and visitors to experience the place fully. Furthermore, As the DMC is the M&E industries district and has accumulated companies in related industries, it is frequently visited by tourists, fans and audiences to watch television programmes and to meet celebrities. However, there is a lack of amenities for the crowds, not

even a line for the long queues that the visitors make to see any programs in the DMC, as seen in the Figure 7.6 (vi)

Third, existing public parks are rather unused. The pictures at the bottom of Figure 7.7 (iii), (iv) show small parks in the DMC. Although there are unoccupied spaces, people do not try to use. As discussed in section 5.2.2, there a number of public places but they are not active at all. Smokers can occasionally be seen in the corners of the plaza and benches are placed at the edges, but the centre of the park is generally empty. In order to reallocate under-utilised space and to facilitate pedestrian flow, the inclusion of more green space, central seating areas and the installation of sports facilities can be effective methods.



(i), (ii) Dark achromatic colour of the building facades



(iii), (iv) Sidewalks



(v), (vi) Crowded area lacking public seating

Figure 7.6 Photo documenting for analysing placemaking of DMC © Junmin Song, 2014  
(Source: All the photographs © Junmin Song, 2014)



Figure 7.7 Photo documenting for analysing placemaking of the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014  
(Source: All the photographs © Junmin Song, 2014)

Fourth, the difference between daytime and evening uses of public places in the DMC can be clearly observed. The Figure 7.8 below shows the main public area of the DMC, the Nuri Dream Square, the DMS, which opens onto Nuri Dream Square, and the MBC broadcasting company (see also Figure 7.5). Public places including the streets of the DMC and the main plaza (Nuri Dream Square) are inactive in this picture. The density of pedestrian flow is extremely low in the DMC area except for congestion during business hours on weekdays and during events and festivals. Pedestrian activity increases during the morning and evening commute as well as at lunchtime (from approximately 11:30am to 1:30pm). However, aside from the lunchtime,



there is little to see other than large achromatic glass buildings. Even at lunchtime, this area cannot be regarded as a community's beloved public place.

In the evening, the DMC complex is a more vibrant, diverse and colourful landscape than in the daytime, with lights flashing at every corner: however, the density of pedestrian flow in the streets or plaza is still extremely low, excluding the end of office hours, with the area becoming a ghost town. The flashing LED lights on the building walls seem to exist for no one. During my two field work period, the public spaces in the DMC were not vibrant as it planned and the Figure 7.8 shows the status.

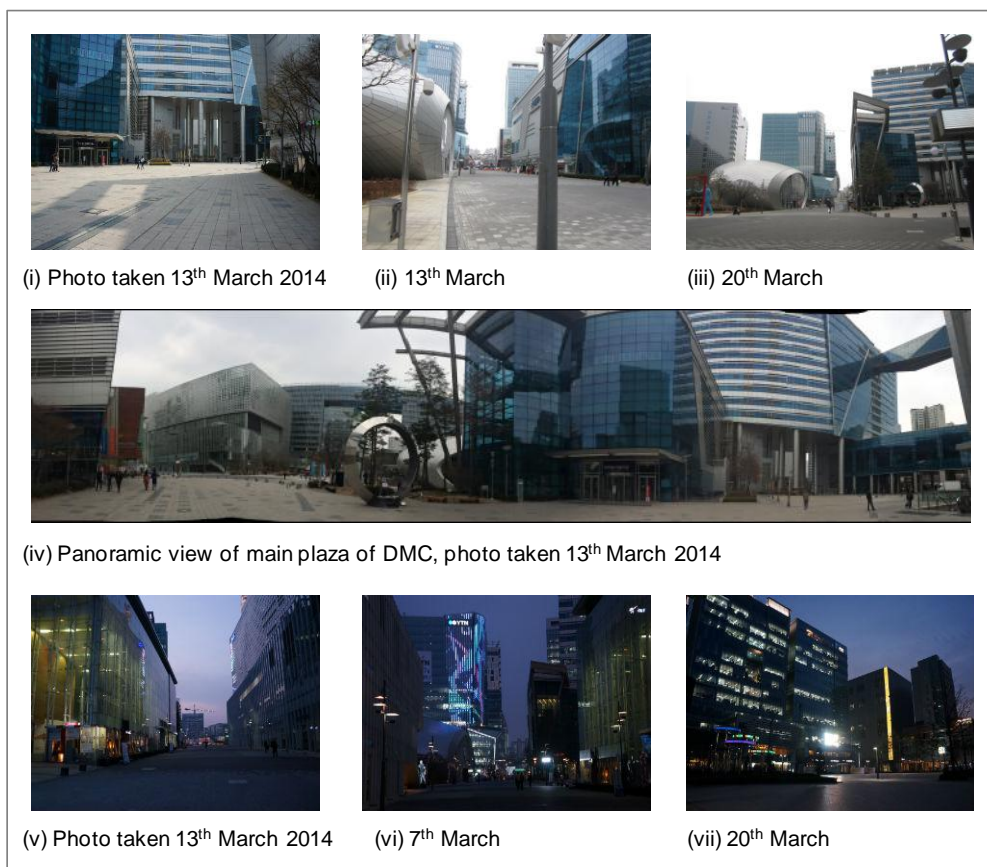


Figure 7.8 Photo documenting of daytime and evening uses of public places in the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: All the photographs © Junmin Song, 2014)

## (ii) Factors Inhibiting the Active Use of Open Spaces

From the observations above, it is evident that the area's lack of population-dense public places limits the potential of a lively community in the DMC. This can be analysed using three factors, the general working conditions of South Korea and other built environmental conditions of the DMC. First, creative workers (B) in Seoul are not those who can occupy public places during business hours. As discussed in the previous chapter, the inferior working conditions create this situation. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Better Life Index, people in South Korea work 2090 hours per year, one of the highest rates in the OECD where the average is 1765 hours ([Oecdbetterlifeindex.org](http://Oecdbetterlifeindex.org), 2014). This indicates that they spend less time on other activities aside from work, such as networking or leisure. The strict working atmosphere is an additional problem, as previously addressed. Ahn (2014) says, "it is not easy to take a look around and have time to engage in other activities or relax since it is so busy at work. I don't even know well how the DMC landscape looks." The people who occupy the DMC district are usually creative worker (A) or (C), occasional visitors, and even more rarely local residents who have no business in the area. As for creative worker (A), they are more flexible with regard to working environment and atmosphere. However, Yu (2014) declares that the problem for him is the built environment of the DMC. He states that it is neither enjoyable nor inspirational. Therefore, he is not

tempted to walk around the space in his spare time. The inspiration for creativity can be derived not only from interaction with other people, but also from an aesthetically pleasing environment with facilities for relaxation.

Second, there is a lack of outdoor amenities, public art and public design for small-scale interventions. The pedestrianised streets by the side of the buildings, uninviting open spaces and public parks could be enlivened by small-scale interventions such as providing comfortable seating and colourful plants, lighting, creative and playful public design or public art, and designing public spaces that leverage iconic views to make the DMS more appealing. As much as large-scale infrastructure, architecture and building facades are significant to the built environment of a district, small-scale infrastructure is equally vital, such as public design including street furniture. The essential need for small-scale intervention in open spaces is observed from the pictures above. Public design can play a key role in the bleak atmosphere of the DMC. For instance, the necessity of benches was exposed in an interview, in which 71 percent of respondents requested more benches (both residents and the creative worker group). Moreover, although the district includes broad unoccupied space, the flexible and creative use of space with benches is not efficient. Figure 7.9 (i),(ii) shows the inefficient use of space compared to Figure 7.9 (iii),(iv). It is named Park Mobile (US) and is a bench with combined flowerpot that has been transformed from a rubbish bin. It is portable and enables a more efficient use of parking spaces. Benches, tables and integral seating not only act as furniture but can be more than just seats.

According to creative worker Yu (2014), people use them to take a rest, as a place to put their bags and luggage, and even talk about business with their business partners. As Whyte's findings indicate, seating on the street in any form of benches, chairs or other surfaces enlivens a place.

Third, not only the lack of outdoor amenities but also the quality of public design was neglected by the DMC planners. For instance, numerous thrasonical and disruptive banners are placed in the street. The contrast between the planned image of a futuristic, high-tech district and the real lives of citizens cannot be ignored. No matter how hard the modern planner tries, they cannot remove the traces of people who live in and use a place. Further, from the human-scale perspective (rather than a bird's-eye view), as Rapoport (1977) claims, the pedestrian's visual attention is generally limited to eye level within enclosed spaces, so these banners (usually considered as minor elements) significantly affect the streetscape for people at street level (see Figure 7.9 (v), (vi)).

In addition, the placing of rubbish in the DMC is not well organised. At night, rubbish is taken outside and stacked in the street. It is one of the most problematic factors of the night landscape of the DMC. However thoroughly modern planning attempts to shape an orderly and tidy area, the lack of designated areas for rubbish causes severe damage to the streetscape (see Figure 7.9 (vii), (viii)). It is a vicious circle in which the lack of exterior amenities discourages people from the area, and low levels of pedestrian

flow result in the neglect of outdoor facilities. Whichever problem is the origin, there is an urgent requirement for more al fresco services and facilities to increase the vibrancy of the district. A place with no people in it can never aspire to be a 'creative' milieu.



(i), (ii) Potential space for benches



(iii), (iv) Park Mobile in US



(v), (vi) Banners



(vii), (viii) Rubbish Bins

Figure 7.9 Public Design in the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: Photographs (i), (ii), (v), (vi), (vii), (viii) © Junmin Song, 2014; Photographs (iii), (iv) © CMG, n.d.)

## **7.2 Arts and Culture for Creative Placemaking**

### **7.2.1 Representative Cultural Activity: SeDCO (Before the Completion of MBC Broadcasting Company)**

A major festival, the SeDCO, has been established in the DMC for the purpose of communicating the DMC identity, since the early stages of the DMC's development. As explained in Section 5.1, several cultural events were held to enhance the reputation of the DMC and to promote the district at the initial stage. On the other hand, the main purpose of SeDCO was more related to building its own identity as the DMC culture itself (Lee, 2014). Lee who provided the name and formulated the concept of the event, states that the title of the festival connotes the meaning of the DMC culture while also embracing the openness of the district (Lee, 2014). The festival aims to play a role as a creative catalyst, drawing in a series of dynamic works, projects and occurrences in the district. It comprises IT and culture-specific events held within the infrastructure of local industrial and physical support, providing businesses with a platform to develop, present and promote their work at a large-scale showcase throughout the main buildings and public plazas of the DMS in the DMC district. The event aims to act as test bed for the products and new technologies of the resident companies of the DMC. Moreover, it is designed with a diverse scale of events during the three-day festival, spanning across the selected CCIs, local residents and visitors who are able to spectate, participate and experience various activities related to up-to-date IT technology, forthcoming design, and a mixture of art and technology that they would otherwise find difficult to access. It is not merely

an artistic-cultural festival, as the events involve the industries operating in the DMC to strengthen the districts own unique culture and shape a solid identity. The festival is hosted by the SMG, organised by the SBA and the DMC Culture Open Organisation Committee (differently composed each year).

From 2011 to 2013, the change of political situation in Seoul hugely affected to the policy of the DMC, since the project served the objectives of the Seoul government more than it enhanced the community's quality of life. Accordingly, the characteristics of the festival were transformed during that time. By observing the composition of festival programmes from 2011 to 2013, the impact of the political situation on the festival is revealed.

In 2011, the SeDCO consisted of five main programmes: Global Conference, Synergy Plus, Sharing Plus, Korean Wave Plus, and Culture Plus. Global Conference included two forums, the Global CICT (Integration and Convergence Technology Industrialisation) Forum and the DMC CoNet Smart Integration and Convergence Forum that discussed the concept of integration and convergence of culture, technology and industry. Synergy Plus included events such as DMC Expo, DMC Job Fair and Technology Transfer Market to attain synergy between industry and business interaction in the DMC. Sharing Plus consisted of several music concerts, a film festival, a fashion show and other events in order to involve the community and workers of the DMC. Korean Wave Plus was constituted of the Korean Pop



Culture Content Exhibition, the Korean Pop Culture Business Market and others, as an attempt to shape the DMC as a hub of the Korean Wave and popular culture in Asia. Finally, Culture Plus involved events such as the Media Art Exhibition, Media Façade, the Kids' Robot Art Competition and New TV Content Exhibition, to enhance the quality of the arts and hence the artistic quality of the festival.

In 2012, approximately twenty programmes were divided into three categories: the DMC Past & Future, Culturenomics, and Media Culture Festival. DMC Past & Future included events such as the DMC 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary International Symposium and the DMC History Photo Exhibition, on the subject of the history of the DMC and to develop the plan for the next stage of the DMC. Culturenomics consisted of DMC Expo, Korea Culture Contents Exhibition, Entrepreneur Tour for Next Young CEO, and other events, with the engagement of the resident companies of the DMC to exhibit their technology, new products and services. Media Culture Festival included the DMC Film Festival, Seoul International Media Art Biennale and Region Club Festival. These events are organised by the DMC resident companies. The Seoul International Media Art Biennale is a large event in Seoul originally held by the city government at the Seoul Museum of Art, separate from the DMC project. This year, it made the first attempt at becoming a leading event outside the Seoul Museum of Art, having also been exhibited at the DMC Gallery. This was the first activation of plans to draw related

outside events to the DMC, to open up the DMC district as a stage for wider and more influential events.

In 2013, the programme was slightly amended due to a reduction of the budget by more than 50 percent, implemented by the SMG. The budget reduction meant that the programmes related to culture and art were all eliminated. The Festival had two parts: one contained business and industrial programmes organised by the SBA, such as DMC Expo, DMC Technology Transfer & Investment Conference and Network Party. The second part involved related organisations in the DMC Job Fair, International Forum on Sensory and Neuro Marketing and Image Creative Multi Market. Thus, the 2013 SeDCO included diverse events related neither to the arts and culture, nor to local resident involvement.

2011 Program Schedule		2012 Program Schedule		2013 Program Schedule	
Area	Event	Area	Event	Area	Event
Global Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Global CIT Integration and Convergence Technology Industrialization Forum</li><li>DMC CoNet Smart Integration and Convergence Forum</li></ul>	DMC Past & Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>DMC 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Global Symposium</li><li>DMC Excellent Case Presentation</li><li>DMC History Photo Exhibition</li></ul>	SBA Program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>DMC Award &amp; Excellent Case Presentation</li><li>Super Creative Conference</li><li>DMC Expo</li><li>DMC Technology Transfer &amp; Investment Conference</li><li>Networking Party</li><li>DMC Film Festival</li></ul>
DMC+ Synergy Plus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>DMC Expo</li><li>DMC Job Fair</li><li>Corporations' IR</li><li>Technology Transfer market</li></ul>	Culturenomics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>DMC Expo</li><li>International Copyright Technology Conference</li><li>DMC Investment Conference</li><li>Korea Pop Culture Content Exhibition</li><li>Young Future CEO Start-up Tour</li></ul>	Cooperative Program with related organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>DMC Job Fair</li><li>International Forum (Sensory and Neuro Marketing)</li><li>Image : Creative Multi-Market</li></ul>
DMC+ Sharing Plus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>DMC Film Festival</li><li>Seoul Special Show of Noted Films</li><li>Film Screening for the blind</li><li>DMC City Concert</li><li>Outdoor Music concert</li><li>DMC TV Live Show</li><li>DMC Aura (1: DMC Superstar, 2: Digital Fashion Show)</li><li>Charity Bazaar</li><li>Application Experience</li></ul>	Media Culture Festival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>DMC Film Festival</li><li>Seoul International Media Art Biennale</li><li>Interactive Experience</li><li>Region Club Festival</li><li>Sonbadak TV Live Show</li><li>Seoul Police Promoter Special Performance</li><li>UCC Showing and etc.</li></ul>		
DMC + Korean Wave Plus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Korea Pop Culture Content Exhibition</li><li>Smart Visual Image Festival</li><li>Korean Pop Culture Business market</li><li>DMC Broadcasting Experience</li></ul>				
DMC+ Culture Plus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Media Art Exhibition</li><li>New TV Content Exhibition</li><li>Media Facade</li><li>Kids Robot Art Competition</li></ul>				

Table 7.1 SeDCO programmes from 2011 to 2013 (source: The DMC SeDCO brochure 2011; 2012; 2013)

#### (i) Outward-Facing Cultural Activity

Many individual cities have used non-cultural measurements to demonstrate the success of events, for instance by counting the number of visitors (Fridberg and Koch-Nielsen, 1997; Richards, 2000). The SeDCO was regarded as successful in the DMC Culture Open report. In 2012, roughly 54,000 people participated over three days, which is a 17 percent increase on the previous year, which attracted 46,072 people (MBC Media and the SBA, 2012). With the growing number of visitors, the event was statistically successful and has been regarded by the city authorities as increasing the

value of the DMC brand. However, calculating the effectiveness and quality of the events was not considered in the measurements. Although the survey of festival visitors showed recommended improvements through pre-promotion (36 percent), rest areas (32 percent), food (30 percent), transportation (22 percent), and information (14 percent), it did not classify the quality of the programmes themselves (MBC Media and the SBA, 2012).

Although this event aimed to be established as a representative brand of the DMC and to convey DMC's identity (Jackson, 1988; Marston, 1989; Smith, 1993), and despite the increased number of visitors, SeDCO can be criticised in three ways. First, SeDCO is used as 'image production' for city marketing (Ward, 1998) and economic returns (Robinson et al., 2004; Richards and Wilson, 2004; Keller, 1998), not for constructing a broader identity. This means that the event concentrated more on outward-facing activities than the quality of the event itself. The outward-facing activities led not only to a poor quality event overall, but also the failure to attain financial benefits. For instance, in 2011 the festival was led by the partnership between the SMG, the SBA and an agency, MBC Media Company (affiliated company of MBC). The detailed programmes were organised by the subcontracted agency, MBC Media Company. According to the policy, the agency focused on making programmes, inviting Korean celebrities to take advantage of the Korean Wave (Hallyu), using it as a means to increase visitor numbers. As the Korean Wave has a substantial fan base among Asian territories (Huat and Iwabuchi, 2008; Kwon and Kim, 2013), the SMG

developed a policy to draw international visitors (mainly Asian) to the DMC by introducing and exhibiting the contents of popular television dramas that are part of 'Hallyu tourism' (Han and Lee, 2008).

Under the government policy influence, the majority of the budget was spent on attracting Korean pop stars and there were not enough funds left for other activities, in particular artistic and cultural activities in the festival. This led to the destitute quality of the event. The festival had no solid concept, no concrete vision or strategy. The discursive range of the event, including everything related to media, entertainment, IT, and the Korean Wave's cultural products, was mixed indiscriminately and resulted in inadequate content. I argue that this was largely due to the absence of professionals who could lead the large event with a coherent conception, whilst being steered by policy makers who were primarily interested in economic benefits rather than the event itself. . In fact, this event is not the only festival in the DMC and there are many more events in which the public can experience the Korean Wave, such as K-pop concerts and fan meeting events, rather than a digital media festival.

Second, with a tourism-centric approach, the event became a 'cultural festival' without any culture. Here it is important to be clear regarding two different meanings of culture: one describes "the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society" (*Oxford dictionaries*, online) and the second refers to "the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual

achievement regarded collectively” (*Oxford dictionaries*, online). Although the original intention for this event was not strongly connected to the arts-related definition, it engages in an ambiguous manner with both definitions, as the DMC is represented as a symbolic product of the combination of art and technology. However, the commercialisation of activities and entertainment elements to attract visitors took priority over the cultural value – the second definition (Elias-Varotsis, 2006). In 2012, after Mayor Oh’s resignation in November 2011, the larger part of Seoul’s design and cultural activities were suspended or eradicated under the new administration of Mayor (Lee, 2014). The DMC was no exception.

As the total funds for design investment were reduced (*ibid*), accordingly, there was no longer the generous financial support from the SMG to DMC. Since the festival previously used to rely on a government budget (e.g. spending huge sums to attract celebrities), the event officers struggled with the halved budget. Moreover, after the budgetary cuts and the changes of structure in the government and the SBA, the head of the DMC headquarters in the SBA, Lee Donghee, resigned, and the festival lost its direction and ultimately eliminated most of its cultural aspects. In 2013, the whole artistic-cultural part of festival was dismissed, aside from the DMC festival relating to IT business organised by SBA. This exemplifies how the value of culture has been disregarded and considered as a secondary element.

Third, the positive functions of cultural events, such as enhancing civic ‘pride’

(Mueller and Fenton, 1989) and increasing community engagement, were not evident in this festival. Numerous scholars (Evans, 2001; Hannigan, 2003; Richards and Wilson, 2004) have asserted that strategies for cities to create place distinctiveness using festivals and events to market themselves can be counter-productive. This is especially true due in the context of the top-down approach employed in the DMC. In the case of the SeDCO, it was mainly operated under a government-led approach in line with its dependence on public money, evident in the lack of any in-depth consideration of process. The festival has been losing its meaning for local residents. The focus on visitor numbers does not necessarily include community. The user-related results of the festival may exclude non-visiting residents who were supposed to be a major stakeholder in the 'inclusive' objective of the event. The interviews with the resident group show that only ten percent of residents acknowledged the existence of the festival. As a way of enhancing community engagement, the role of the festival is discussed in section 2.3. Particularly in countries like Korea (see section 5.1), cultural festivals can be a good way to enhance community ownership, encouraging people to use the neighbourhood and develop projects that meet their needs, as Murray (2004) has suggested. However, the interviews conducted show clearly that the outward-facing event has been problematic for the local people of the DMC complex, and has not functioned to enhance civic pride.

### **7.2.2 Vitality and Authenticity (After the Completion of MBC Broadcasting Company)**

The completion of the construction of MBC was a turning point in the DMC. After the construction of MBC, the transmission of electric signals commenced in May 2014. Following the reduction of the budget, the need for spontaneous and organic sustainability of the cluster has been more fully acknowledged. The DMC cluster has started to gain momentum from the MBC's arrival, with creative and cultural activities becoming more various and dynamic with the preparation for the next goal in becoming the Korean version of Hollywood, with the Plan for the Second Step of the Recreation of the DMC (Haechi, n.d.). As discussed, the SMG and the SBA have begun to reduce the level of intervention but have focused on a role as intermediary in facilitating communication between resident companies. Further, taking advantage of the increased vibrancy of the area, the SBA have put greater efforts into creative worker engagement and community involvement, through a wide range of events that match the characteristics of the DMC, promoting the district as a hub of the Korean Wave and cultural contents by maximising the synergy effect, co-operating with the resident companies, and using the public places of the DMC to create an event that is open, diverse and colourful.

(i) Arts and Cultural/Creative Activities for Urban Vibrancy

*The DMC Sharing Happiness Market* (see Figure 7.10 (i), (ii)): The DMC Sharing Happiness Market is an event, organised through the co-operation of the SBA and Mapo-gu, pursuing the creation of its own culture and emphasising sharing as an activity. It aims to offer inaugural items and ideas



to start-ups and ventures, acting as a place to recover commonalty through the marketplace of communication, interaction with local residents, and a cultural and leisure space for visitors. It is held on the last Saturday in June, August, September and October in Nuri Dream Square Plaza. The programmes include a flea market, a marketplace for the DMC resident companies, a social enterprise marketplace, the Seoul Start-up School Co-operative Association marketplace, an auction of celebrities' collections with the participation of media corporations, and varied cultural experience events. A donation of ten percent of the sales revenue was given to marginalised residents.

*Public Place for People* (see Figure 7.10 (iii), (iv)): The 2014 FIFA World Cup saw cheering take place in the streets of Sangam DMC, just like the 2002 Seoul FIFA World Cup when the new street culture of the Red Devils<sup>64</sup> emerged in South Korea. With large media walls established in buildings, the DMC successfully offered a venue for street celebration to workers and residents, creating an energetic and lively landscape. *The 2014 League of Legends (LOL) World Final*: The 2014 Final of the World Championship of League of Legends (LOL)<sup>65</sup> took place in the World Cup Stadium in the DMC, which was the venue for the 2002 FIFA World Cup. The stadium has played host to major sporting and entertainment events in South Korea (*News.donga.com*, 2014). It is the first time the event has been held outside

---

<sup>64</sup> The Red Devils is the representative name of the fan club for South Korea's national football team, considered a new phenomenon that initiated a new movement of patriotism in South Korea.

<sup>65</sup> League of Legends (LOL) is the most popular game in the world in the recent years, the world's largest game tournament, and it is a game like a sport (*News.donga.com*, 2014).

of America (ibid.) and a revival is anticipated of Korea's e-sports market through the event. The stadium has raised difficulties since the event on the matter of its future utilisation. However, it is exploring methods to utilise the unused infrastructure, converting it into a venue for international events.



Figure 7.10 Diverse Activities for Urban Vibrancy © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: All the photographs © the DMC Facebook website, n.d.)

*Square-M, Communication* (see Figure 7.11 (i), (ii)): *Square-M, Communication* is a public artwork located at Digital Media Plaza, in front of the MBC broadcasting company. The plaza is conceptualised as an enjoyable event site where MBC, Nuri Dream Square and Korea Creative Contents Agency are clustered. It is the most densely populated area in the DMC and the main location of various exhibitions, events and showcases.

This work of art suggests the interaction between the media world and people, and is a communication that matches the DMC vision. In the evening, lights in the corner of the faces create a completely different atmosphere to the daytime appearance. It is visible in simple figures, human sculptures expressed in cyber-tic, and generates a 'futuristic' feeling. The artist claimed in an interview, "since it is the most popular place in the DMC, I tried to make a work that ordinary people can easily understand, approach, and which will feel familiar" (*The Official Blog of MBC*, 2014). In the interview, *Square-M, Communication* is cited as the most popular public artwork in the DMC (62 percent) followed by *They* (see Figure 7.14 (v), (vi))

Compared to other symbolic artworks such as *Millennium Eye*, *They* (see Figure 7.14 (iii), (iv), (v), (vi)), using LED or reflective material but lacking in distinctive features, Yu (2014) said that this work of art is eye-catching and witty, not tedious like other artworks in the DMC. Another interviewee (local residents group) stated, "My children like it. They play around with the sculpture and like to take pictures in front of it." Positive responses followed regarding the harmony of the artwork with new buildings, as well as the artwork playing a role in enhancing the vibrancy of the place. This work transformed the place into a site for children to play, an inspirational spot for the workers of the DMC and an 'attraction' for visitors.

Aside from these events, many other events related to creative and cultural activities are held frequently in every corner of the DMC, including the events

to be explained in the following section. These now generate a number of what are deemed to be 'positive' effects and reach towards the original goal of the DMC, enhancing civic pride and community participation. During the group interview with local residents (eight people), they responded positively to these events. One interviewee (resident group) said "I'm happy to be involved in the events. I travel to every corner of the DMC when joining the events and programmes with my family." She continued, "I'm not satisfied with every aspect of living here, but the increasing popularity of the district gives me pride and the activities are a pleasure". The residents are all pleased to have more local events to revitalise the district, expecting this to enhance their pride and ownership of the community. It is not only local residents, but also creative workers who enjoy these events. This creates a virtuous circle in which increased satisfaction raises the level of resident contribution (Yu, 2014).

Therefore, the partnership developed through the interactions and the endeavours of the public sector has enabled the DMC district to gradually become more associated with local community and worker engagement (Park, 2014a). Accordingly, the urban vibrancy, civic pride and community bonding that are essential to a creative city have recently been enhanced in the DMC through the embedding of rich cultural resources – rather than through a top-down approach, with the change of government and local officers' strategy. Instead, the partnership between diverse stakeholders has increased the desired urban vitality. However, these festivals are still

occasional events that do not generate constant urban vibrancy. There are still many days when the various places are inactive. To make this upward tendency sustainable in the long term, a more community-driven approach may be required, rather than a passive role for residents as merely an audience. The community atmosphere would not then be significantly affected by variation in external factors such as a change in the political situation.

Public art plays a role of building more active, vital cityscapes. Kim stated in the City Environment and Public Art symposium held in 2011 that public art in the DMC is designed to function as an intermediary, to enhance the quality of public places and generate vitality. There are plans to curate the city places and public arts that contribute to placemaking, to achieve further harmony between buildings, artworks and places. As proven in the work *Square-M, Communication*, a good work of art improves urban vitality.

Art activities and events play a similar role. For instance, the Bristol Park and Slide project (see Figure 7.11 (iii), (iv)) was a temporary interactive installation by artist Luke Jerram, a giant waterslide that ran through the city centre of Bristol, UK, set up in May 2014. 360 tickets were available and over 95,000 people applied for them. The artist, Jerram, states that he saw the city “as a canvas for architectural intervention” (Coldwell, 2014) and that it was a test for overcoming bureaucracy and making a “creative” artwork that everyone could participate (Coldwell, 2014).

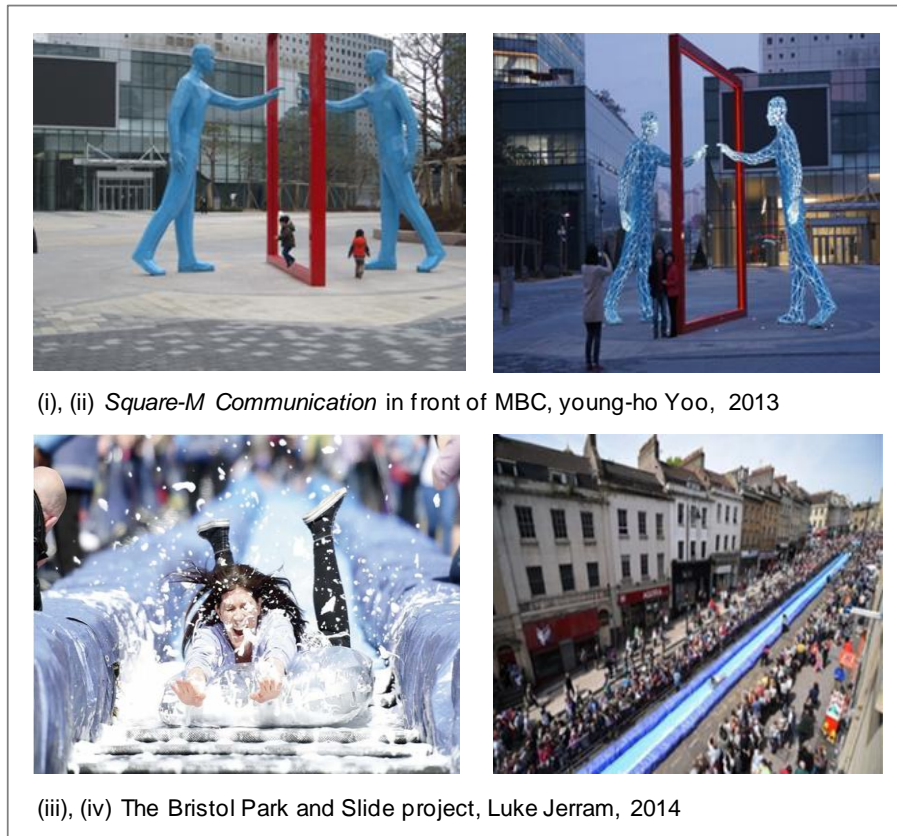


Figure 7.11 Public arts for Urban Vibrancy © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: Photographs (i), (ii) © Junmin Song, 2013; Photographs (iii), (iv) © AFP, 2014)

## (ii) Arts and Cultural/Creative Activities for Authenticity

*Delicious Music City – Chi-Mac Carnival (Chicken and Music Carnival)* (see Figure 7.12 (i), (ii)): Chi-Mac<sup>66</sup>, one of the cultural products of the ripple effect of the Korean Wave, has become the centre of the cultural festival of the DMC. Expansion of demand for diverse cultural events was followed by an increasing number of music festivals during autumn in Korea. A number of music festivals have evolved with unique concepts and contents, and in

<sup>66</sup> Chi-Mac is a newly-coined compound word is formed from the words “chicken” and “macju” (Macju is Beer in Korean). Chi-Mac is considered one of the most beloved late-night meals among Koreans. Chi-Mac has become widespread and gained huge popularity across Asia through the recently broadcasted television drama *My Love From the Star*. The drama was very successful in China (Wikitree.co.kr, 2015) .

diverse forms, to attract visitors (Shin, 2014). Delicious Music City – Chi-Mac Carnival explicitly added the subtitle ‘Chi-Mac Carnival’, and held a Chi-Mac party, reminiscent of a very large outdoor pub with various musicians (ibid). The Facebook page for the DMC has promoted a lineup of different types of chicken as well as a Macju (beer) lineup that will be offered at the carnival, just like the musician lineup. The CJ E&M Music Business department is in control of the event, and states that it attempts to escape the stereotypes of music festivals by emphasising both food and music that everyone can enjoy as a form of carnival (ibid). It is intended that participants will enjoy the event in the night landscape of the DMC, with the unique pentagon-shaped stages in the DMC Culture Park (next to the CJ E&M building), offering diverse contents for audience participation. It is an excellent effort to promote the DMC, engaging both creative workers and local residents, while establishing the DMC identity through utilising the district’s assets.

*The DMC as Filming Location (see Figure 7.12 (iii), (iv)):* The DMC subsequently established the new goal of becoming a Korean version of Hollywood, as a Korean cultural contents hub by 2014 (*Acrofan.com*, 2011). The SMG announced the second stage of the DMC, to integrate domestic and international media, entertainment and IT companies while consistently maintaining the concept of the cluster (ibid). According to Park (2014b), the DMC area is used as a shooting location for dramas and films approximately sixty times each year. It was also a location for the Hollywood film *Avengers 2*, and has been announced as a location for the upcoming *Star Trek 3* film

(*Kids.hankooki.com*, 2014).

*Outdoor Concert for Television Programme I'm a Singer* (see Figure 7.12 (v), (vi): Meanwhile, Figure 7.12 (v) and (vi) shows the rehearsal recording site of popular television programme *I'm a Singer*<sup>67</sup>, with a specially prepared stage at the plaza in front of MBC.

The utilisation of the district as a variety of shooting and recording locations creates a synergy effect with the popularity of the Korean Wave. The initial plan to construct the DMC as a hub of the Korean Wave and Asian popular culture has now been greatly enhanced by policy makers' deliberate and flexible strategy changes.

---

<sup>67</sup>*I'm a Singer* is a well-known South Korean singing competition programme showcasing talented, famous Korean singers. The programme is broadcast by MBC. In 2013, the programme was exported to China, and an American version was also released in 2014, broadcast on FOX.





Figure 7.12 Diverse activities for enhancing place identity of M&E cluster © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: Photographs (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v) © The DMC Facebook website, n.d.; Photograph (vi) © MBC, n.d.)

*Diverse Activities in Five World Cup Parks* (see Figure 7.13 (i), (ii), (iii), (iv)): The five World Cup Parks comprise facilities and places for a variety of cultural activities for all Seoul citizens. For instance, there are Noeul (Sunset)

Camping Place, NanjiArt Creation Studio, sports facilities such as Park Golf, a sports lawn, multipurpose stadium, tennis court, five different plazas, various themed gardens, children's playground, firefly observation centre, silkworm ecology experience centre, a playground for dogs and a fountain . Efforts to embrace the community by providing a series of enjoyable facilities attracts many people and imbues the place with an identity and sense of community. It now recalls scenic views of Nanjido with its environmentally friendly operations.

*MapoNaru Salted Shrimp Festival* (see Figure 7.13 (v), (vi)): MapoNaru Salted Shrimp Festival is one of the major events that attempts to engage with the historical sense of place by embracing its indigenous, organic identity. It is a three-day festival at the Peace Plaza of the World Cup Park involving an opening ceremony, cultural events, experimental events, and a variety of marketplaces. The event contents include a dock culture reproduction event, a reappearance of the old MapoNaru marketplace, various traditional cultural performances such as Korean fan dancing, gayageum (Korean zither with twelve strings) performance and Pumba performance, a community singing competition, writing competition, children's sports day, traditional Korean play experience, salted shrimp auction experience, a traditional Korean snack experience, popular music concerts, the DMC contents experience, and international cultural exchange experience.

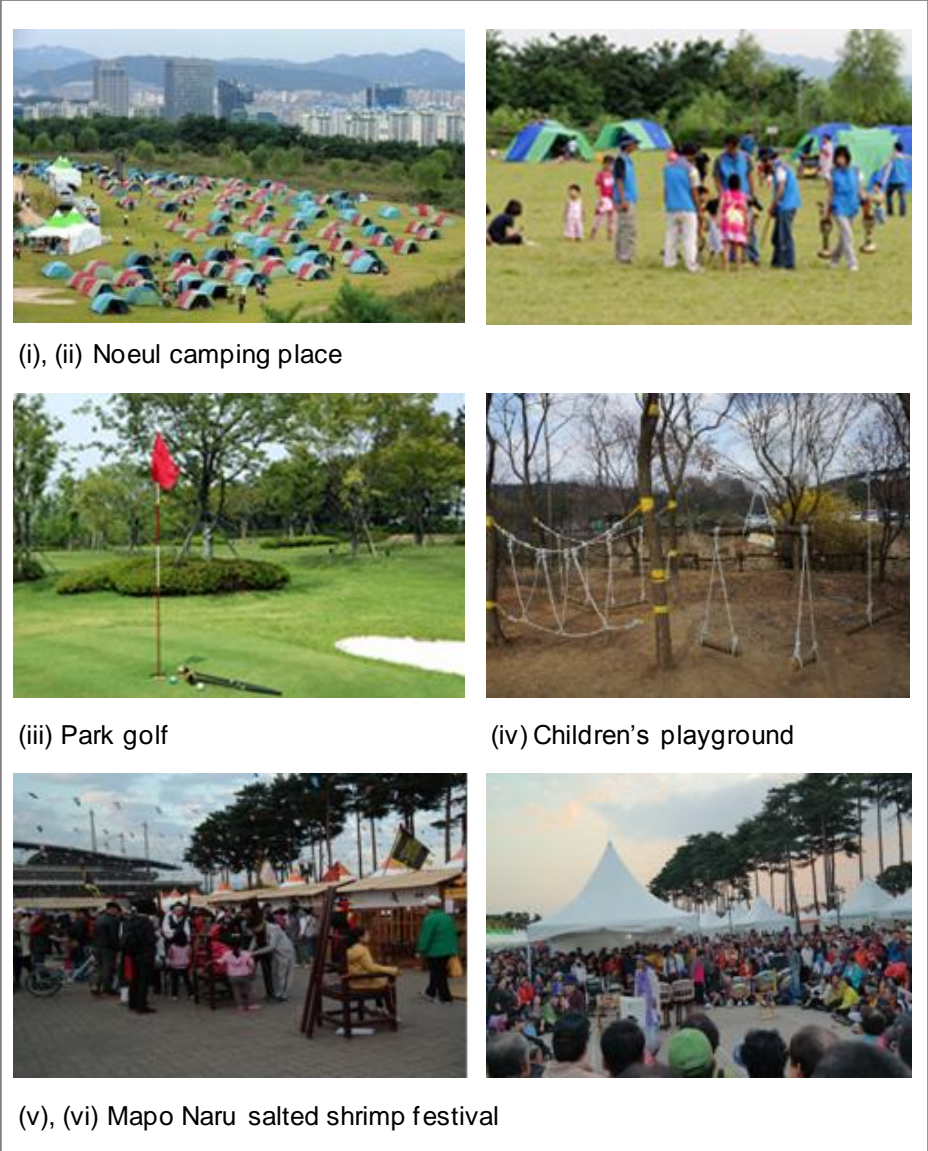


Figure 7.13 Diverse Activities relating to historical sense of the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014  
(Source: All the photographs © World Cup Parks Website, n.d.)

*Media Art* (see Figure 7.14 (i), (ii)): Kim (2011) stated that Media Wall in the DMC is intended as a vehicle by which art will promote the public environment and augment placemaking via Digital Façade. Media Façade<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Media Façade is a new type of public art combined with Media Art. It uses advanced technology in an attempt to match the location characteristics of the Sangam DMC by installing Media Façade.

was installed in the DMC complex in order to address the problems caused by the lack of contents (including small-scale intervention) and the mismatching of some public arts with buildings and the surrounding environment (Kim, 2011). To attain to these immediate aspirations, the advanced technology of Media Façades are used to match the locational characteristics of the DMC with its unified operations, by a central system in the DMC. The DMC operation team in the SMG created a policy strategy in which broadcasting, media and IT-related companies are obliged to install media boards. Thus, LG CNS, SK Telecom, Nuri Dream Square, CJ E&M, YTN and other buildings installed media boards within their architecture, and the DMC complex has become the heart of Media Façade in South Korea. The screens are used primarily for advertisements, but on some occasions, such as the SeDCO, they exhibit art works. The interview conducted for this thesis revealed that nearly 47 percent of place users (both creative workers and residents) are in favour of Media Walls in the DMC. They said that the Walls create the vitality and diversity of the DMC night landscape and make it appear 'cool'. However, there was also a contrary opinion derived from interview material, stating that there is an overflow of information and too much 'Hollywood' aesthetic.

*Millennium Eye* (see Figure 7.14 (iii), (iv)): The *Millennium Eye* is a symbolic sculpture of the DMC complex, located in the GuryungNeighbour Park, a triangle-shaped park on whose western end is a 23-metre high sculpture (see also Figure 7.14). It is constructed of 140 mirrored steel spheres that

reflect their surroundings. Its qualities of magnificence and splendour make it suitable as a landmark of the DMC. Baker (1988) asserts that the physical location of public art is significant to ensuring its public nature, in addition to the form of the work, to create a specific social meaning. When art is located in the public space, the work has become important as 'public property' through its communication with people (Baker, 1988). However, the *Millennium Eye* is located in the far western end of the DMC, and the area is not densely populated. Besides, as a 'public' artwork, there is less potential for empathy with citizens in this work. In the survey conducted, asking which is the most inspiring and preferred piece of public art in the DMC, there were no votes for this work of art.

*They* (see Figure 7.14 (v), (vi)): *They* is another symbolic artwork of the DMC, located in the DMC Entertainment Plaza (see also Figure 1.9). As a symbol of the district it is well located in this park, designated as an entertainment plaza, next to CJ E&M and YTN (media related companies). The location is a highly population-dense area with numerous visitors and commuters. It uses LED and a smooth reflective material. When its light is turned on at night, the colourful surface flashes. With the high population flow, around 36 percent of interviewees acknowledged this sculpture as a representative art work of the DMC. However, when the lights are switched off during the day, the artwork has a desolate appearance, contradicting its actual aims.



(i), (ii) Media façade in DMC culture open festival (2010)



(iii), (iv) Millennium Eye, Tomato Art project (2009 – 2010)



(v), (vi) 'They' by Lee jin-joon (2010)

Figure 7.14 public art in the DMC © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: Photographs (i), (ii) © *Seoul TokTok*, n.d.; Photographs (iv) © SMG, 2009; Photographs (iii), (v), (vi) © Junmin Song, 2013)



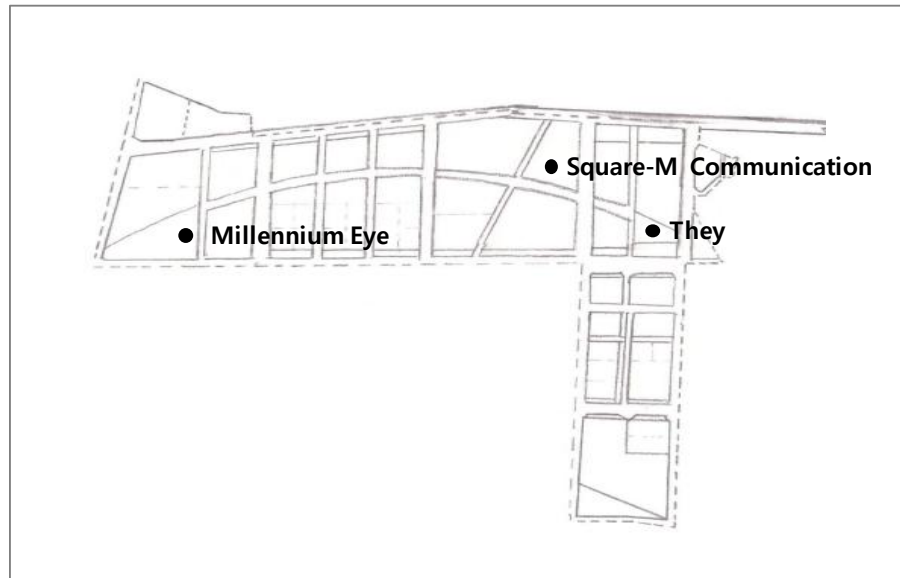


Figure 7.15 Location of representative public arts in the DMC (Source: Adopted from The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001 and modified)

Public art in the DMC is designed to be consistent with the vision of the city and its placeness, and to create cultural and networking places. With the agglomeration of Media Walls, the DMC creates a unique and original landscape; in particular, during the SeDCO festival, Media Walls have been used as the palette for a colourful city district. Media artist Jung Haehyun (2011), who presented his artwork on a DMC media board at SeDCO, states that many media artists in Korea prefer to exhibit their works in the DMC due to its extraordinary environment, with a number of media boards clustered in one area and capable of being controlled together using highly developed technology – a rare circumstance. On the face of it, it seems to be an effective way of supporting the cultivation of a unique and authentic environment for the DMC. These distinct characteristics, however, should not merely be understood in terms of their visual appearance, impact or visual

content. Rather, we need to understand them as one instance of the appropriation of creativity, art and culture within specific design and planning discourses. The first is the ostensibly 'public' aims of the use of the media walls to display art. As Kim (2011) states in the paper, 'Place Making and Place Curating', public art needs to generate a sense of affection and ownership by its public, and it does this by articulating something essential to the locale -- the community of citizens and their relation to the place in which they reside or are active as social subjects. The media walls, with their prime purpose of advertising, find a difficulty in undertaking this role. They are physically detached and often look down on the social spaces around them; moreover, as devices or media of visual communication, they are constructed primarily as advertising.

The media walls typify a central policy aim of the DMC, and that is to provide a synthesis of culture, technology and commerce -- and in so doing articulate South Korea's growing global competitive advantage. The DMC stands or falls on the way it signified globally-competitive innovation -- of the kind that adds immediate value to national economic policy achievements. The media walls are a seamless presentation of aesthetic content that at once references global contemporary art, new digital media (and the kinds of new devices and communication technologies that symbolise the creative industries), the mass appeal and immediate impact characteristic of broadcast media (signifying something of national importance), and the appearance of something openly available -- an object of public consumption



(for the whole of society, not just certain people of certain ages). Whatever greater purpose an artist may hold, the symbolic landscape of the DMC indicates that greater forces are at work than any specific artistic strategy. Creativity, art and culture are appropriated for broad aims, specified by the planning and policy discourses through which the DMC has been awarded a nationally significant role.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter, as continuous with the last, undertook empirical research of the Seoul DMC and analysis conducted based on two main criteria – built environment, and cultural-creative activities – along with the sub-criteria diversity, authenticity, and vitality.

Now that the DMC district has almost completed its early stage of formation, the policy direction is changing. Area vitalisation programmes have been developed with attempts to minimise the role of policy makers, instead focusing on community involvement (for both creative workers and local residents). Accordingly, the quest for vibrancy in the place began to gain momentum through the use of local assets and cultural resources – cultural contents – in the M&E industry. With active utilisation of the distinctive character of the Korean Wave in the district, the DMC has begun to form its own unique identity.

As a result, I found that the DMC is acknowledged as an outstanding and distinct symptom of new policy discourse where creativity is fused with

innovation and design, and is involved with new developments in the global economy – business entrepreneurship, media communications and new technologies, along with social models of labour (the creative class), on which the South Korean government (and the municipal government of Seoul) are attempting to capitalise. This new fusion, as I have explained, began from Western policy concepts and urban cultural frameworks (such as the creative city policy strategies of CCIs, the creative cluster, the creative class, cultural-centred revitalisation and placemaking in the urban design field) but has since then adapted and been reconfigured within Korean ideological and philosophical notions, which themselves are being utilised to enhance national performance in the global economy. We therefore find strong government intervention, focused on an economic-centred approach in the creation of place and attitude towards culture.

However, the complex DMC discourse demonstrates little distinction between creativity and innovation, between creative milieu and innovative milieu due to an unresolved tension between western theories concentrating on cultural issues of creativity, and Korean political interests that focus on a business-centred approach with robust policy intervention. These issues will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Discussion and Critical Considerations**

This chapter discusses four main issues critical to our evaluation of the Seoul DMC, where I have defined it in terms of a creative milieu rather than just an M&E [media and entertainment] and IT clustered district. In the current debates around the building of a creative city, the significance of authenticity and identity gains increasing attention, particularly in the context of a growing competition amongst cities in the knowledge economy. To achieve a 'local globalness' as a global competitiveness strategy, the DMC was planned through both creative city and placemaking frameworks, along with emphatic Korean cultural aspects. This chapter first addresses how Korean policies were positioned within the framework of creative city and placemaking frameworks, and how the resulting tangle of policies nonetheless delivered a distinctiveness for the DMC. Secondly, this chapter discusses how Korean culture established differences and/or obstacles in nurturing creativity, despite the DMC's unique status as a result of tangled policies. Thirdly, it discusses how the national government's policies for economic development are projected in the creation of the DMC built environment of the DMC, and how this is different from that of a western creative city.

Finally, based on the discussions above regarding advantages and disadvantages derived from tangled policies and practices exhibited in the DMC, the last section explores what needs to be achieved in the tug-of-war between arts/culture and business, in order to address the unresolved distinction between creativity and innovation derived from the government's aims of building a solid identity and economic development. This discussion will attempt to answer the question of whether the DMC is a distinctive, sustainable and 'creative' milieu. Further, it will propose the next step forward for the DMC.

### **8.1 National Policies of Self-determination and the Global Trend Towards Creative Urban Place**

As illustrated earlier, there has been a shift in the key concepts revolving around creative city discourse since around the 1980s, from 'culture' to 'creative' and from 'creative' to 'innovation' (where 'smart' has become a cognate of innovation, albeit being more hybrid in its usage). Similarly, the place-based development of cities has been changed from an artistic district model to a cultural district model, and then also to a creative cluster. Even within the word 'creative', the focused concept that creativity implies has been changed and diversified. For example, although Landry's (2000) publication involved many cultural contexts, he brought the term 'creative' to the centre from arts- and culture-led urban regeneration and emphasised culture-centred creativity. Florida (2002) argued that bringing creativity closer to an economic agenda results in a mixed field of technological,

organisational and economic benefit. Further, within the place-based development approach, the popularity of Porter's idea of economic business cluster developments (see Porter 1990) brought the concept of the creative cluster to the industrial policy circle, involving a wider field of industries, such as science and technology based sectors, along with innovation-inducing variation (Mommaas, 2009).

Even as the range of the term 'creative' is broadened, or combined with an innovation-inducing scope, the concept of creativity and 'creative clusters' are debated in optimistic as well as pessimistic ways. Firstly, a positive way of putting forward the current debate of creative city discourse to the next movement is Scott's expression, 'third wave of urbanisation' (2014). He explained that the distinction between two incompatible types, such as 'cities of industry and commerce' and 'cities of art and culture' (2014: 569), today seems to be disappearing, with such distinctions becoming more syncretic.

In particular, as explained in Chapter Two, this syncretic view of cities appeared in a form of 'creative placemaking' that puts Florida's (2002, 2005) theory actively into practice and prominence, particularly in the US, Canada and Australia. Nowadays, after huge investment in arts- and culture- led creative placemaking, an outcome problem has occurred. Also, with the acknowledgement of the differences of local contexts dependent on community (which is a varied form of creativity) Markusen and Gadwa (2012) mentioned in their talk 'Defining Creative Placemaking' (2012) that

researchers should seek more diverse in-depth case studies in order to investigate a variety of different cases (Jason, 2012).

These new socio-economic arrangements of third wave urbanisation, different from other types of creative placemaking, consist of clusters of technology-intensive service as well as cultural producers that today are created based on their economic base. Here, skilled labour and know-how are accumulated to generate dense transactional networks and mutual cross-fertilisation creative signals within geographical entities.

In South Korea there has emerged some criticism of the idea of the 'creative cluster', in that it has begun to lose its direction and become a fuzzy notion. There are debates about devalued arts and culture, and whether this is merely another service industry. In a similar line, it has been questioned whether creativity is losing its long-established, pristine quality, as something 'pure' and unique. Cunningham (2006) argues that the arts and culture are becoming less special or exceptional, and that this is the price that the creative economy must pay. With these criticisms around Europe, in particular the UK, the limits of the contemporary creative city have been discussed (Harris and Moreno, 2010).

While these theories have recently faced many criticisms in the attempt to move on to the next movement, as Asia adopted these theories relatively later, urban planners and policy makers passionately adopted the much criticised western-oriented theories as discussed in Chapter Two. Florida's

idea of the creative class is booming in China after the publication of his *The Flight of the Creative Class: The New Global Competition for Talent* (2007) in translation. Many cities such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai, etc. built creative industry clusters/creative spaces/creative milieu, constructed 'cultural' infrastructures, and developed administrative institutions for building creative cities.

Third wave urbanisation, involving economic-based clusters, can also be found in major Asian cities with the economic development in the knowledge economy. For instance, Scott (2011) refers to the *MasterCard Worldwide Centers of Commerce Index for 2008* (MasterCard Worldwide, 2008)<sup>69</sup> in his article and stresses the significance of the presence of cities from East and Southeast Asia, such as Singapore (4<sup>th</sup>), Hong Kong (6<sup>th</sup>), Seoul (9<sup>th</sup>), Taipei (22<sup>th</sup>) and Shanghai (24<sup>th</sup>), which connotes the reflection of preconceptions amongst global business elites in the early twenty-first century. According to Flew (2010), with these Asian cities' aspirations to develop media capitals as the core elements of creative industry strategies (cited from Cunningham, 2009; Keane, 2007; Kong et al., 1996), these aspirations have been accompanied by an attempt to 'think spatially' regarding these trends, trying to intersect capital, culture, creative production and media policy (cited in Curtin, 2007). For example, Zhongguancun Haidian Park in China (regarded as China's Silicon Valley, formally launched in 1988), where IT industries, digital media technology, internet-based industries and digital entertainment

---

<sup>69</sup> The *MasterCard Worldwide Centers of Commerce Index* consists of 75 international centers of commerce identified by MasterCard Worldwide (2008).

software enterprises accumulate, has two main clusters, namely Zhongguancun Software Park and Zhongguancun Creative Industries Pioneer Base (launched as a more recent addition in 2005) (Keane, 2009). Similarly, there is the Xicheng district, which was developed as a media cluster in Beijing to relocate the new CCTV headquarters to the area. The relocation was expected to reshape and reimagine the cluster, inviting media capital including media professionals and businesses (Keane, 2009).

In terms of the DMC, Porter's theory of cluster was adapted by Korean planners (The Media Valley Corporation et al., 2001) and transformed into a collective model of clustering, which embraced business and industrial models along with 'applied' cultural/creative entrepreneurial ones. The DMC was largely made up of a technology and industry-based environment with a 'pick and mix' selection of 'Cultural and Creative Industries' (CCIs) similar to other media districts in Asia. However, at the time it was planned (in the 1990s), mixing culture and IT industries was a novel idea across the world. With the aim of making Seoul a global city (see Chapters Two and Three), together with an attempt to create a distinctiveness derived from locality, the planners, local authorities and planning bodies identified an effective combination of necessary provisions, and found a way to pick up on the unique point within the fierce competition between cities by using the strength of the ongoing phenomenon of the Korean Wave and its related industries. Involving Korean popular culture in the district brought strategic clarity to the planners and government officers. This vision turned out to be



accurate as well as fortunate considering the ongoing upsurge of the Korean Wave across the world in the Media and Entertainment industry (explained in Chapter Three).

The DMC district includes a geographic concentration of aforementioned core media industries, entertainment-related technology and the production and distribution of digital contents. Further, industries such as distribution and consumption for digital contents, IT related services, and manufacturing and biotechnology/ nanotechnology research are also involved (Dmc.seoul.kr, n.d.b). This is due to the fact that the concept of the DMC's version of cluster is designed so that the production and distribution of both industrial creativity and cultural content are capable of coexisting in one place (Kim, 2014a). Kim articulated that the place is open to all, from start-ups to large conglomerates; the cluster builds an ecosystem for all processes and provides a creative environment for interaction. This was a way of understanding creativity as social norm and putting the concept into practice. He asserts that the DMC employed the concept of 'collective intelligence', defined by Atlee (2005) as the constant cooperation and synergy between the elements. Kim (2014a) stated:

'Beethoven and Mozart were in Vienna at the same age; Florence was the birthplace of the Renaissance. When there are geniuses in a place, in the contemporary era, there is collective intelligence. This is the case for the DMC; collective people and talents gather in a place to build the new Vienna

and Florence of our time. If a new civilisation and a new culture can be created in the DMC through transformation and amplification of creative talents, the place bridges creativity. That is what a creative milieu is.' As can be seen, this DMC planner's conceptualisation of the creative milieu emphasises human resource and the production of the creative outcome through the workers' interaction as a social process, rather than through individual talent.

In sum, the form of the DMC's version of the creative milieu can be found in 'third wave urbanisation', which combines both culture-intensive and industry- and commerce-intensive creative clusters. It employed the globally shared concepts of creative talent, CCIs, active networking and interactions, the flow of ideas, and supporting or attracting elements of good city infrastructures, including cultural resources as a tool kit for creativity (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000). In addition to the global trend of creative city policy, and with increasing attention on the significance of locality and authenticity in creative placemaking, the DMC planners and policy makers' far-sighted plan is still innovative today. From the collective models of the creative cluster, the DMC created its own unique model of a creative milieu that fits both its national and global contexts.

## **8.2 Korean Culture**

Despite the fact that the DMC cluster was successful in establishing and forming a newly built creative cluster in a short period of time, with in its

uniqueness, in building the creative urban place of the DMC, there has been two broad issues that have stifled creativity or made the identification of creativity problematic. First, the foundational concepts derived from the western theories conflicted with some features of Korean culture (largely associated with Confucianism), as identified in Chapter Two. Second, the particular 'top-down' style of policy-making generated contradictions between the bureaucratic system of policy implementation and the processes of design and construction.

There are differences in the working environment within the social structures of the US and Korea. Creative talent is, for Florida, as he emphasised much in his works such as *The Rise of Creative Class* (2002), and *Cities and Creative Class* (2003), what makes a successful city embrace a broad spectrum of professionals in the company of high levels of knowledge and skills. In his theory, as a way of attracting the creative class, policies were constructed from aesthetic improvements such as street-scaping, outdoor facilities, and arts production and consumption (renewal as well as the construction of buildings), to enhance social diversity in terms of residence, working spaces and leisure facilities (2002). As illustrated in the previous chapter, this generates a virtuous circle, inviting other creative class. Haddock (2010) points out three assumptions relating to this based on Florida's theory: the creative class is greatly mobile; the creative class includes high levels of self-employment that allows mobility; and the motivation of the creative class in choosing cities involves consideration of

the creative climate (such as amenities and lifestyles) rather than job opportunities. This implies crediting to the social attributes of place and flexibility, such as flexible working hours and a casual dress code.

However, as observed, the working environment and social behavior of the creative worker in Korea is different as it is shaped from Korea's most fundamental social philosophy, Confucianism. Confucian values, such as respect for the elderly, loyalty and harmonious relations, are important values that have significantly influenced the Korean national work ethic. In Confucian philosophy, hierarchy is required to sustain group as well as social harmony (Kee, 2008). The large-scale companies and '*chaebols*' have a hierarchical structure that lies within the deep-seated values of Confucianism (ibid). A number of founders of *chaebols* are well-known for their hard work as well as paternalistic leadership in managing their companies. Sense of loyalty to a company and strong team spirit are entrenched in South Korean large company culture, and any individualistic intentions are considered as self-centred; as a result, long working hours are common for many Koreans in the corporation culture (ibid). Therefore, the creative workers (B) in Korea are supposed to be a hard-working population without enough time left for enjoyment in the congenial cafés and international restaurants that Florida (2002) asserts the cluster should offer them. Ahn (2014) said 'the workers in the CCIs in Korea are even more committed and hard-working than those in other industries. The theory is not applicable at all in this circumstance.' Accordingly, the desired latitudinal power in the organisational structure that

creates a flexible working environment, emphasised in western theory, is rarely adopted and achieved in a Korean context.

Similarly, the mobile creative worker who moves depending on the social and cultural climate may have different needs; for example, some creative workers are parents and family responsibilities may take up a large portion of their time (Karsten, 2009). When deciding upon the location of work, creative workers with family and children may consider factors such as schools, day care, shorter travel times and play spaces, which may differ from creative workers who prefer bars and entertainment facilities. Furthermore, South Korea is well known for having the world's highest passion for education. In the analysis report on the relationship between America's education and the level of income inequality by *The New York Times Magazine*, South Korea is nominated as the country most passionate for education among the main countries in the world, and the most preferred condition for residence is educational environment (Han, 2013). Thus, for those creative workers (B) with children, who gain a higher income than average, a safe, clean and good educational environment seems more important than recreational amenities.

Lee and Rethemeyer state that 'Korea is often depicted as a political system controlled by a strong state operated by a bureaucratic elite' (2013: 4). Although the strong top-down policy approach applied in the DMC made it possible to establish the first creative cluster in Seoul, in order to generate a

true creative environment, centralisation and bureaucracy derived from top-down policy-making block the flexible interaction between diverse parties, inhibiting efficiency and productivity. Richard Florida asked Jane Jacobs what makes places creative, and she replied that, essentially, all cities are full of creative people; however, a number of cities have more leaders and institutions that block creativity, termed 'squelchers' (Florida, 2013). The omnipresent thoughts and culture of Confucianism, with its hierarchical structure, co-exist with the bureaucratic system of South Korea. During the implementation process, a severe crisis concerning the unnecessary layer of bureaucracy has been observed, arising from the immorality of public and private sectors, hastiness in processes, a bureaucratic style of management and frequent changes of administration.

First, the opposition to establishing KGIT (Korean German Institute of Technology) in the DMC was symptomatic to the overall limitation derived from the stakeholders involved. The planning phase, verifying feasibility, requires harmony with local planners so as to verify compliance with legal codes, undertaking exhaustive market analyses, sketching alternative schematic designs, examining any special technical issues emerging from these schematics, and projecting costs and revenues (Knox and Ozolins, 2000). However, miscommunication between involved stakeholders was observed when the predicament grew from the immorality of the private sector, with its impracticable proposal like inviting universities to the DMC to set up campuses and building the DMC landmark building, and the public

sector (a project operator), which approved the proposal without drastic amendment and verified the unfeasible plan, as explained. Byeon (2014) stated that these negative experiences led to considerable skepticism towards establishing an educational institution in the complex, although this was originally regarded as a key dimension to building a creative district.

Second, many of the problems encountered were caused by the hastiness of bureaucratic procedures. In the 2011 SeDCO (Seoul Digital Culture Open Festival), the most critical problem was perhaps the hastiness in the preparation process from the planning stage to the completion stage, since the government squeezed implementation into a very short period of time. Lee (2014) affirmed that the problem of hastiness and reckless deployment in the implementation of event planning was a chronic issue. This is not merely an issue for the DMC, however, but is a social problem prevalent across South Korea. Yeo Soyeon (2014), a freelance designer who participated in the DDP project as a senior researcher in the planning stage, claimed:

‘It was in a rush shaping the project team from the process stage to the completion stage. There were two reasons for that. One was due to the deficient budget. Although the total expenditure of the SMG was exceeded on the project, the money invested to the architect, Zaha Hadid, and the money for constructing contents, was extremely insufficient. Thus, the main agency company for the project (LG) did

not want to spend enough time because it was not a profitable project for them. In the logic of capitalism, the priority of projects was totally dependent on the money issue. Thus, the DDP project was an undersized project compared to other cost-effective projects for the LG. The other was due to the bureaucracy method. It was totally driven by the stance of the Seoul government and their schedule. The work had to be finished within the given time, with the political reasons that it needed to be finished within the tenure of previous Mayor Oh.'

Third, the problem of a domineering bureaucracy appeared in the management of the DMC. After the construction of hard infrastructure, managing the established infrastructure was often neglected. The DMC Art Fence,<sup>70</sup> the world's longest art fence, 7421 metres in length and aiming to be the world's largest street museum, was installed in the DMC district. However, Park (2014a) said that, 'it had been maintained for two years after the installation since the SMG spent budget on it. However, now, there is no caretaker and it eventually has led to severe damage of the works'. Meanwhile, the Media Façade, another ambitious project of the DMC, represents the intention for art to lead the public environment of the DMC. Nevertheless, due to considerable operational and maintenance costs, the building owners have opposed to maintaining the media walls. Except for a few broadcasting companies that are utilising the media wall to advertise

---

<sup>70</sup> The Art Fence is a curtain wall, and has become an art installation and public artwork.



their television programmes, it has now stopped operating, showing extinguished screens. These unmanaged public arts, which are supposed to enhance the beauty of the city place, now ruin the city landscape.

Fourth, there has been a frequent change of position among civil servants. This situation can cause chaos, leading to significant difficulties in managing the newly built city district. Park (2014a) mentioned that the position of public officials in charge of public design and arts in the DMC has not been reallocated, and so there is no one to consult regarding previous administrative procedures. In fact, it is very difficult to curtail the collusive relationships within political circles. After the change of the Seoul Mayor in 2011, from former Mayor Oh Se-hoon to his successor Park Won-soon, followed by a large-scale reshuffling of employees in the SBA and the dismissal of the head office of the DMC within the SBA, the situation became even worse.

The top-down approach, with its weight of bureaucracy, hangs heavily not only on the DMC district but across Korean society. However, creative lifestyles are characterised by non-conforming attitudes, behaviour and flexibility (Sternberg, 2009), as well as vigorous combinatory play. An adaptive, flexible arena with various interfaces does not derive from bureaucracy and hierarchical social systems. In the DMC, as a creative milieu, real estate speculation as well as the construction of creative training infrastructures is based upon bureaucratic models lacking real imagination or

a sense of risk-taking. As discussed earlier, the top-down approach of creative city policy can lead to the absence of creativity.

All of these issues led to calls for an independent administration for the management of the DMC. As can be seen from the successful case of Yokohama's creative city policy, which aggressively reformed the municipal administration (Kunihiro, 2010) and constructed private organisations while formatting a core creativity promotion committee (Rah et al., 2008), the DMC needs to be operated and managed by an independent organisation with coherent, consistent and comprehensive management. For now, in terms of the city landscape, each place is managed by a different administration: parks are managed by the DMC activation team in the SBA; buildings are controlled by respective building owners; public art installations are possessed also by the building owners; the DMS and some parks are managed by a different team in the Mapo-gu(district) office; and the incomplete areas are under the SMG. Park (2014a) claims that particular components are not in harmony with each other. Byeon (2014) asserts that without this type of independent organisation, the limitation of bureaucracy could not be overcome. Although the existence of the SBA can fill the deficiency to some extent, considering that it is also a government-affiliated organisation, it still has limited autonomy, merely implementing the government's directives. Public officers are neither professionals nor experts. Since the officers are not experts in management, they are not confident enough, and do not possess adequate and in-depth knowledge of the field,

to push forward schemes and manage them. Moreover, they are insecure in their position, lacking spirit and passion. Byeon (2014) said that ‘construction of the infrastructure is the beginning, but not the end. It is more significant to manage the complex from now on, and recognition of this is the starting point to overcoming bureaucracy and maintaining a truly creative urban place.’

### **8.3 Economic Appropriation of Space and the Creation of Place**

The creation of the physical setting of the DMC expressed the chronic issue of built environment, which is rampant in Korea (mainly Seoul) and focuses on an economic-centred approach. Three issues were left to address: first, there has been construction-led planning which neglected the human-scale intervention in place-making; second, the reflection of aiming to become a global city and economic development of the SMG drove the DMC’s planning policy towards outward-looking construction and misconception of diversity, which led to standardisation following the global trend; third, the misconception of diversity resulted in the mere image-building of the DMC.

Regarding the first issue, the quantitative expansion of the Seoul landscape, in addition to construction-led development derived from a coalition with *chaebols* and the government’s interest in boosting economic development at the expense of social improvement, was discussed in Chapter Four. The role of the SMG in seeking economic growth as well as industrial competitiveness has been largely dependent on construction-led strategy followed by upscale architectures in Seoul. This overlooks the importance of

quality of space, in terms of 'making place', along with human-scale intervention and management after construction. The demolition, renovation and new construction of landmark buildings was part of a process for upgrading the city design of Seoul, such as the aforementioned DDP construction and the Sevit Islands or Floating Islands (*Some Sevit* in Korean).<sup>71</sup>

The same approach was also applied in the DMC. Byeon (2014) said, 'the SMG considers their role completed when the land sale and construction ends. The government officials do not acknowledge the importance of management.' Ahn (2014) mentioned that 'in the DMC, with the clustering of M&E and IT companies, there is huge potential which we can use as resources for cultural projects. However, for the bureaucrats, starting a cultural project will be synonymous to another construction.'

In the mid-twentieth century, when new technology and real estate development covered the city landscape of New York with skyscrapers, motorways, and redevelopment by Robert Moses, who was a bureaucrat of New York city and led the heavy-handed urban planning, Jane Jacobs' publication (1961) galvanised the city by insisting on the mingling of town, streets, shops, and people, and that everyday interaction become a source of city innovation and creativity. The highlighted concepts from her book

---

<sup>71</sup> Some Sevit or Sevit Islands is a group of artificial islands in the Han River of Seoul that consists of three islands: Gavit, Chavit and Solvit. The construction of Sevit Island was part of the Han River Renaissance during the tenure of the Oh Se-hoon government.

(1961) on 'eyes on the street' (p.66) and 'social capital' (p.148) that make the city safe, and livable and lead to economic prosperity have brought about a groundbreaking change of viewpoint in urban planning and urban studies. Without this book, the Greenwich Village would have been less protected.

As Landry emphasised, the combination of hard and soft infrastructure is important in shaping the space. Although there have been attempts for placemaking practices in the DMC, such as paying attention to and producing public design, public arts and planning active frontage, as observed in chapter five, these were still marginal compared to the effort put into creating hard infrastructures. In fact, not only in the DMC, but South Korea in general has suffered from relentless urban (re)development, demolition and a speculative real estate market for a long time, which resulted in a need to shed new light on the values of people, activity, real diversity and interactions, all of which could be brought by human-scale intervention and placemaking, rather than by construction-focused development.

Second, as observed in Chapter Three, the creative city concept fascinated Seoul policy-makers in part because of its perceived outward-looking or tourism-oriented understanding of the city. In pursuing the government's objective to build a successful and leading global city, this tendency has also been observed in the planning of built environment in the DMC. Zukin (1995) argued that the vanishing local manufacturing industries in the periodic crisis

toward knowledge economy, in the government and finance sectors, led to an increase in the inclusion of culture in the business strategy of cities (e.g. building tourist attractions). The outward-looking construction led to the globally desired principle of diversity of built form. However, urban diversity seems to have been reduced to uniformity and standardisation like many other cities, new towns and even suburbs across the world. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the centre of urban cities with an idiosyncratic architectural style, in globalised brands of shops, restaurants and cafés. Today we observe the indistinguishable international style of urban cities, or put in another way, diversity, as a sheer form of commercial variety, without true creativity. A local resident (2014) says 'I do not see the difference of the DMC from other big cities'. Besides, creating a futuristic image of the district, which was the main aim of the visual aspect of the DMC built environment plan, resulted in a dull, monotonous visual impression rather than a leading state-of-the-art district. The accumulation of contemporary, upscale buildings as part of this effort, with a modern aesthetic and a limited and monotonous colour tone, absorbs the diversity of the city landscape. These buildings emulate the futuristic style of architectural design shown in numerous other international cities or in films, and look more like a futuristic version of Disneyland or a newly built themed city. That is, it is a landscape like 'futurised places, museumised places, and other-directed places' (Relph 1976), where people or tourists might want to be, leading to the landscapes of tourism and subtopia (Briggs, 1968: 92). Despite this, the DMC attempted to establish a unique and futuristic image;

the outward-looking approach of planning led to a paradoxical result, which is rather disorienting in terms of creating its own identity and its relationship to Korean culture. What can be seen is merely the 'gigantism' (Relph, 1976) of mega-cities together with a series of contemporary skyscrapers.

Third, the misconception of diversity led to problems in specific image-building with the DMC. Anthropologist Maree Pardy insists that pursuing diversity can be a part of a cosmopolitan image-building or 'display' (2009: 4). Every now and then, city planners may resort to forced diversity, which is the deliberate and planned creation of various building shapes and styles, particularly in modern architecture and city places, so as to give the impression of diversity. Figure 8.1 shows the core of active frontage of the DMS in the DMC complex. The 'display' can also be witnessed in the row of restaurants (see Figure 8.1(i), (ii)), which includes a Japanese restaurant, a Belgian waffle shop, another small Japanese restaurant and a brunch restaurant.<sup>72</sup> Wood and Landry (2008) in the past have repeatedly raised issues concerning the apparent signs of multiculturalism and business diversity observed in some British and global cities. For instance, ethnic-themed restaurants, shop signs and other things associated with cultural aesthetics are often artificial and do not truly support intercultural placemaking, even though they are testimony to the resilience and adaptability of immigrant culture (Wood and Landry, 2008). Pardy (2009) also

---

<sup>72</sup> The idea of brunch has become famous after the American sitcom *Sex and the City* gained huge popularity in South Korea.

draws attention to the concept of diversity in order to understand the different characteristics in multicultural aesthetics, such as rituals, foods, folktales, arts, crafts and festivals. She claims that the consequence of such aesthetics is frequently the enhanced investment for businesses as well as services for the middle class that disregard the relations between people and the spaces they reside in (Pardy, 2009). Jacobs (1961) also disapproves of this superficial diversity, as it is dishonest. The mixture of architectural and functional diversity, to which Jacobs refers, is derived from the authentic differentiation between buildings built at different times and scales. That means that real diversity can be achieved by including authenticity in the place. In this context, authentic and true diversity is not expressed in the creation of built environment of the DMC.

The DMC planners paid great attention to building a unique identity in its built form, trying to create a futuristic image by setting detailed policy strategy and strictly controlling it. However, the outward-looking planning and the misconception of diversity paradoxically resulted in global standardisation, which is a tendency in central parts of major contemporary cities (see 8.1 (iii), (iv)). Also, rather than building its own solid identity, the outcome is rather disoriented and disruptive.

As previously pointed out, adhering to physical, functional and perceptual elements of historical knowledge and faculties throughout the landscape, including authenticity, can make the DMC more diverse and distinctive. This



could organically attract more people, visitors, and ultimately, the economic prosperity that the government aims for.



Figure 8.1 Pseudo-diversity © Junmin Song, 2014 (Source: All the photographs © Junmin Song, 2014)

#### 8.4 Arts/Culture and Business

The DMC, as a planned district, was designed to serve the government's goal for economic development of the city. In building the creative cluster, the planners and government designed a business-focused district. The cultural dimension was secondary.

In observing the business-focused the DMC planning and policy strategy, unlike the much emphasised role of cultural infrastructure as a source of

creativity and of the prerequisite element for creative workers (Landry 2000; Florida, 2002), in the planning of the 'hard' DMC infrastructure, the strong focus on business infrastructure gave undue value to cultural infrastructure. The 'third wave' (Scott, 2014) type of creative cluster, to which the DMC belongs, uses the physical fabric, as well as cultural institutions, to support the overall social and economic ambitions of the city, functioning as a branding tool. Advertisements with a new formation of aestheticisation, dependent on star architects, are particularly visible in central business districts of many global cities. This has been a critical aspect of the global trend of creative city strategy; the role of policy-makers has been misunderstood, and building and offering a number of cultural facilities (e.g. galleries, museums, concert halls, etc.), dressed up with contemporary architecture, may boost social interaction and attract creative people, tourists, and economic development. Asian cities such as Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai, and European cities like Glasgow and Gateshead, are good examples. However, in the DMC, even those cultural facilities are excluded. When the other cities aspiring to be a creative city focused on the cultural dimension for their city growth, the effort to increase cultural profile in the DMC was less enthusiastic. There has been a problem in the plan for the cultural and commercial infrastructure (such as the delay of the DMC landmark building), and in the multi-support functional system of the hard infrastructure of the DMC, the cultural dimension is insignificantly addressed, for cultural events were merely planned in the beginning stage.

In the meantime, the cultural activities and diverse activities that have recently enlivened the DMC have broadened awareness of its cultural diversity and started to shape its unique identity. However, using the Korean Wave as a concept for establishing its identity addresses two aspects in relation to cultural activities in the DMC. First, the Korean Wave itself, as discussed in Chapter Three, needed to address the unresolved issue of the tug-of-war between Western and Asian, or modern and traditional, identities. Second, for its long-term sustainability, a higher quality of cultural products is required. Landry et al. (1996) argue that a focus on external audiences may limit the quality of a cultural festival due to a lack of critical approaches towards artistic works and constraints on the quality of events under pressure of commercialisation. The Korean Wave has been utilised by Korean policy makers in outward-looking activities, as a way of boosting Hallyu tourism. The spectrum of the current state of the Korean Wave is limited to its popular cultural products and its related derivatives. This means that the Korean Wave can easily be positioned in the market system rather than pursuing an intrinsic value of arts and culture.

This business-centred approach, for both hard and soft infrastructure, is highly likely to meet its limitation. First, this is due to the quality of cultural products mentioned above. The demand from increasing numbers of mobile, experienced tourists has expanded. The search for experiential holidays promotes a widespread orientation towards expanded consumption of cultural products as well as experiences, which includes festivals (Heinrich,

1988, cited in Hall, 1992: 27). Instead of the 'just add culture and stir' strategy of festivals, a broader concept of cultural activities is needed to satisfy the increased expectation of quality in these events. Narrow conceptualisations of cultural activities as purely economic growth machines may limit their potential; as Landry et al. (1996) argue, the use of culture for merely marketing purposes is limiting. For instance, it restricts the artistic quality of events, and inhibits the distinctiveness of identity within a place, which is vital in a globalised world characterised by the standardisation of cultural consumption.

Second, the DMC was not organically built and creative workers have not been spontaneously attracted. Additionally, the satisfaction of both creative workers (A) and (B) with the surrounding environment has been relatively low. This led to the question of sustainability of the district. Kang (2010), the founding director of the DMC states that creative milieu is a place where creative workers interact with a well-formed creative environment and creative industry/economy. The answer to the missing element is revealed in the interviews conducted with creative workers, in that a cultural environment is necessary. Ahn (2014) said:

'There is no place for cultural life in the DMC. I think this place is for business rather than creation. I prefer to work where I can enjoy a high quality of high-end cultural life. It may be important to have things near my work place that I usually consume. In order to establish a man-made

cityscape, what can be more important than culture and cultural spaces? It is not a media-related facility but culture. Media infrastructure is merely for professionals. However, good cultural facilities will attract not only ordinary people but also people in media industries.'

To gather people in a place, to make a place one that people appreciate, and to make history in it, people need to first enjoy the place. Culture plays a role in enabling these functions. Considering that the DMC is a 'creative' cluster that aims to generate creative outcome, a stimulating, inspirational environment is significant. In particular, when the target users are creative people, cultural resources are even more important.

The concerns for long-term sustainability of the DMC can be addressed by enhancing the quality of place, in order to make the people there want to belong. A culturally rich, hip place that creative workers want to remain in can be achieved by increasing the quality of arts and culture. A high quality of arts and culture can also support the Korean Wave, a foundation concept for the DMC. Throsby (2001) emphasised the influential role of arts and culture in promoting community identity, creativity, unity and vitality through cultural characteristics and practices in urban regeneration discourse. Ahn (2014) said that 'the best way to attract people and increase vibrancy may be to establish commercial and cultural facilities. And, to make the place sophisticated, and 'hip', the best recipe is arts and cultural facilities and cultural places.'

In the case of the DMC, to be a creative milieu that leads the development of culture, and as a central place for the convergence of culture and technology, enhancing the quality of the artistic culture is strongly desired. For instance, using media façades (DMC media walls) as a massive city 'canvas' with cutting-edge technology that the DMC already possesses, and designing them as interactive public art, may enhance the cultural revival of the place, and can pursue high quality of art rather than merely focusing on popular culture and commodified cultural products. The DMC is rife with many potential elements, such as interactive media walls, that can be utilised to build a better and unique environment for public art. The large media canvas in the Seoul Square building (width: 99m, height: 78m), for example, was temporarily turned into a Tetris game in June 2011 in the Seoul Station area. It was an interactive piece of art (or game) by Korean media artist Lee Jun, which any citizen could participate in by looking at the huge Tetris screen (Hankyung.com, 2011).

Kim (2014d) asserts that the DMC necessitates the concept of building its own culture that lives up to its name as a digital media city, from galleries for media art to fashion boutiques, cool and hip like a New Yorker. O'Connor (2004) points out that clusters succeed due to the development of tacit knowledge, contrary to formal, codified knowledge. He argues that as tacit knowledge is implanted locally, cultural producers must be 'inside' the circle of knowledge. Thus, clustering is vital to being associated with a change of

signs – ‘a style, a look, a sound’ of local culture; the city therefore acts as a crucible where ‘innovative consumption meets ear to the ground production’ (O’Connor, 2004: 134). The need for ‘indigenous’ or ‘local’ ‘culture’ is obvious.



Figure 8.2 Media art: Play with the Big Screen by Lee Jun, 2011 (Source: Photograph © *Yeonhap News*, n.d. )

This thesis does not argue that the arts is good and business is bad. Yet, for long-term sustainability and prosperity of the DMC, arts and culture are mutually necessary. Byeon (2014) said that, “With the development method of the DMC, there is no preexisting culture and history in the district. However, the excessive commercialisation of newly made culture cannot be culture, rather it is a commodity. In the process of building new community, the non-commercialised cultural aspect is necessary. This aspect will become a source of creativity. Both the commercialised field and non-commercialised field need to be balanced.”

## **Conclusion**

This chapter sought to discuss the central, as well as broader, issues of the planning and design of the DMC – and how these amounts to a creative urban place, and what that means. Accordingly, in the context of previously discussed theorists and interviews with stakeholders, we can determine the issues and problematic aspects that have emerged, and consequently, whether systematic critical reflection can actually be translated into strategic actions – how we could indeed build a creative urban space.

The DMC allows us to untangle the Korean discourse of the new creative city. The DMC was successful in forming the first M&E and IT specialised cluster in nearly fifteen years. The strategy for the DMC, in seeking its own unique identity among many other Asian cities that seek to build a creative city, and in terms of globalisation, was to place the Korean Wave at the head of its strategy. The strategy resembled the cultural phenomenon of the Korean Wave, which compromised between western and Korean values, and between globalness and localness. Although there have been outstanding achievements in terms of making a new city district as a creative cluster with a unique identity in a short period of time, during the process of constructing the DMC, several obstacles have been monitored in building the cluster as a real 'creative' urban place.

In some aspects, the western-oriented concepts and philosophies conflicted



with Korean culture; the unilateral political intervention tagged along with bureaucracy and hierarchical social systems. Furthermore, the chronic problem of construction-led planning in South Korea was witnessed in the planning of the DMC, along with Korea's speculative real estate market derived from the affiliation of large conglomerates (*chaebols*) and the government, although there has been an endeavour to involve the human-scaled placemaking practice in the planning stage.

Most importantly, the DMC used the concept of the Korean Wave as the foundation of its establishment. The two products aim for local globalness, and the DMC walks a fine line between being a distinctive 'digital media city' and profoundly international; between sameness and difference it reflects the continuously shifting social fabric and diverse experiences. The market is growing and requires products of higher quality; the DMC raised the issue of the meaning of authenticity and identity in creative placemaking discourse to move forward to the next step in globalisation. This phenomenon led to an acknowledgement of the ignorance of the significant value of arts and culture and its role and potential in building a creative milieu. The DMC is a compromise but is instructive concerning the need and function of arts, culture and creativity in new urban landscapes of the knowledge economy, and how standard conceptions of innovation or design are not a substitute.

## Conclusion

This thesis set out both to gain a deeper understanding of the global trend of creative urban place-making, particularly as manifest in South Korea, and also to untangle the discursive strands and influences that have informed its practice, specifically as manifest in the DMC. The study has investigated the character of the DMC as a 'creative' place, assessing its attempts to generate a creative urban environment and associated tangible and intangible outcomes. As I set out in Chapter Two, the concept of creativity, in relation to urban place, has become increasingly ideological and prominent in a broader discourse of a 'politics of becoming' for the major city in the global economy. Yet in combining the term 'creativity' and the global city, it has generated a series of practices and expectations that are, in certain respects at least, incompatible with previously established definitions of creativity (as, say, rooted in art history). Creativity as a mainstream strategy concept within the discourses of urban globalisation of the creative city is not 'creative' in the same sense as we use the term to refer to individuals, like artists. Investigating the meanings and implications of creativity in the context of urban placemaking, therefore, has been crucial to our understanding of the new relations between culture and economy within globalisation:

The research investigation opened with my primarily research aim -- attempting, though a sustained critical analysis of the DMC and the discourses that made its conception, design, planning and construction possible, a way of addressed the global need for *building a distinctive, sustainable and truly creative urban centre*. My four categories of research questions (the RQs as listed in 1.2) are articulated in a way that defines a trajectory, leading to this concluding discussion. Here, by way of clarifying my conclusion, I ask the following:

1. Is, according to its own rhetoric and published aspirations, the DMC a truly creative place, generating creative outcomes as well as 'outputs'?
2. Based on the critical assessment of its strengths and weaknesses (as put forth in the previous chapter, Chapter Seven), how can we define the deficiencies of the DMC and so respond constructively?

Marshaling criticisms against the DMC is not difficult – generating strategic proposals for its development and creative evolution is more of a challenge. In responding to these questions I will revisit the objective of this thesis to identify ways of developing the creative urban environment of the DMC.

*1. Is the DMC truly creative, generating creative outcomes?*

This question is connected to the objective stated in the introductory chapter, to investigate the actual outcome of the creative cluster DMC in relation to the sum total of the outputs, along with its rationale and planning philosophy within the tension between western foundational theories and local contexts.

The question can be answered at both global and local registers. In the global context, with the worldwide circulation of policy strategies derived from the creative city discourse and creative placemaking practices, the DMC planners and policy makers positioned the DMC in the global market by basing its design on western-oriented concepts and adding distinctive national cultural as well as local features. In the 1990s when plans for the DMC began, the fusion of digital media and IT industries was a pioneering idea for this kind of creative cluster. The DMC planners and policy makers acted as both policy borrowers and policy lenders, leading to the hybridisation of different policies and demonstrating the 'local globalness' (McCann and Ward, 2010; McCann, 2011) in urban policy-making. The pursuit of 'local globalness' was at the core of national policy strategy and Seoul's creative city strategy, positioning cultural products – particularly the phenomenon of the Korean Wave – within the DMC planning. Accordingly, although there have been a number of creative clusters built in the 'third wave of urbanisation' (Scott, 2014), with several clusters combining the media and IT industries in large cities across Asia, the DMC has been successful in achieving distinctiveness as a creative cluster within the global movement, not merely as a policy borrower but also as a pioneer of the digital media and IT cluster.

To evaluate the DMC as a creative urban place in the local context, based on the 'Methodological Analysis Framework for Seoul DMC' in Chapter Four, this thesis has identified five key principles for consideration:

1. An integration of top-down and bottom-up approaches in the political and policy realms, using the management of the district to embody the inherent tensions and even contradictions between the two.
2. Active social networking and interaction between creative people within the creative cluster.
3. Visually compelling built form consisting of substantive infrastructure (urban hardware and software) generating an experiential dimension to diversity and meaningful authenticity.
4. Vibrant interaction between space, cultural/creative activities and creative people (both creative workers and community) as a means of articulating the social life and thus authenticity of the place.
5. A socially popular locale, which stimulates identification and where creative workers choose to live as well as work, and where economy is thus underpinned by social community.

The desired level of policy intervention in the policy and management of the DMC district could not be fully achieved for two main reasons: (i) the particular planning circumstances of the DMC as a newly established settlement being constructed very rapidly as a driver of current central government economic policies (of creative production in the knowledge economy); and (ii) the local context in which a bottom-up approach is incongruous with contemporary South Korean society. In this context, the community has been divided into two groups, the *creative workers* and *local*

*residents* (who are not creative workers). There have been positive benefits in the top-down approach, in forming a new creative cluster from a landfill site within approximately fifteen years, and inducing vibrant social networking between creative workers that is deemed an advantage of the cluster and a prerequisite for a creative milieu. In terms of the DMC's unsuccessful dimension, the lack of a bottom-up approach was inevitable at the initial stage since no community existed. Yet with the acknowledgement of the necessity of a bottom-up approach in the district, as the DMC sought long-term sustainability in its subsequent stages, policy and practice gradually developed to include community engagement with creative workers (as promoters of the DMC) and local residents (in a relatively passive role, participating in activities hosted by policy-makers or creative workers). The tension between the policy foundations, management and policy implementation, and the sustainable aims, continues within the current management of the DMC (expressed in, for example, the enormous investment in 'adding' culture to already formed urban spaces or centres).

The active networking and interaction between creative workers drawn from the co-location of the cluster and its related benefits (Porter, 1990) was also proven partly successful, depending on the type of creative workers. This study showed that creative workers (A) and (C) are satisfied with the level of interaction between adjacent areas, and the actual return from both formal and informal interaction was achieved as economic benefits, attaining a flow of ideas and optimising available resources by building trust and informal

relationships between workers in the district. However, it was shown that creative workers (B) were not affected by these advantageous circumstances due to their position in the hierarchical, hard-working environment which is a particular national characteristic associated with the traditional values of Confucianism.

The built form of the DMC proved to be neither significant nor attractive to its users, both creative workers and local residents alike. The users expressed negative sentiments towards the district landscape for the reason that the landscape is monotonous and deliberately eliminates any sense of analog aesthetics. The environment has been produced not with an atmosphere of diversity but as an accumulation of indistinguishable architectures. This outcome arose from a misunderstanding of the concept of diversity, which is a globally desired principle in urban design discourse; a misunderstanding combined with South Korea's problem of chronic construction-led planning in the built environment, and outward-looking planning arising from the nation's economic-centred approach to policy making. Since it is a planned creative cluster designed to serve national objectives rather than an organically formed cluster, the DMC has been greatly affected by government actions and the political situation. Accordingly, the built environment of the DMC has revealed the limitations of bureaucracy, immorality, haste and frequent changes of position in the workplace, all of which emerged from the lacuna between planning officers and local-level officers. Equally, lacks of attention to 'soft' infrastructure in the physical setting, and a corresponding lack of

small-scale intervention and user-based approaches in the built environment, have been observed. Although the DMC planning considered both 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure (Landry, 2000) in theory, the work on 'soft' infrastructure was too limited and unfocused, and as a result users expressed the necessity of human-scale intervention as a vital improvement.

Since 2010, as the DMC planning turned from forming and constructing buildings to management and administration, the cluster has begun to focus on enhancing urban vitality and establishing a solid identity. An endeavour to achieve these objectives has occurred through cultural/creative activities. Until 2014, activities in the DMC were organised by the third sector, the SBA, which was under the control of the SMG and accordingly was influenced by the political situation of the SMG and was dependent on public funding. The limitations of bureaucracy in the working environment were, therefore, an inevitable issue faced by the DMC.

In 2014, after the construction of MBC was completed, the social climate of the DMC began to change and the district has started to gain urban vibrancy. Diverse cultural/creative activities have been held in the DMC, followed by an increasing level of community involvement, and these developments have served as a cultural catalyst for the district. Creative workers became dominant players in hosting activities, and local residents have begun to participate in these activities, increasing their civic pride. This new development in the DMC generated support for the formation of a distinct



DMC identity, through diverse activities related to the M&E and ICT industries as a hub for the Korean Wave and cultural contents in Northeast Asia. This was made possible through the recognition by government officers of the limitations of a top-down approach in sustaining the cluster.

The increase in urban vibrancy has had a positive impact on creative workers and local residents. During the research period of this study, the level of preference for locations clearly differed before and after the construction of MBC. It is too early to assert the success of the DMC as a place enjoyed by its community, but there can be no doubt that it is now improving. To improve the quality of the DMC district and to generate creativity in the place, the overall cultural aspect (e.g. cultural resources and facilities) have been raised as a required dimension for place users.

Throughout this thesis, it has been observed that western-oriented theories could not be seamlessly adopted in the Korean local context for two reasons: the working environment and social characteristics associated with Confucian values; and the dominant power of creative workers (B) in South Korea. First, the increased importance of the bottom-up approach in urban planning discourse is still in its earliest phase of application in South Korea, primarily because of the Korean tendency to gather, often online, around shared ideologies rather than forming regional communities. Thus, in achieving a balanced integration between top-down and bottom-up approaches, new strategies that can accommodate the characteristics of

Korean people must be more reflexively and effectively considered. For instance, encouraging online communities to share their thoughts and opinions has recently been employed as a novel way of connecting the diverse stakeholders of the DMC district. Furthermore, considering the social environment in which little time is left for leisure, relaxation, or any other activities except work, the community engagement of the bottom-up approach is fundamentally unrealistic in the Korean context. This situation is particularly noticeable with regard to creative worker (B). This group is defined by the workers' demanding work schedule, without spare time for networking and interaction. They have not been affected by the built environment of the DMC as they do not have time to enjoy or appreciate it. Consequently, they do not desire the inclusion of commercial entertainment and nightlife facilities in the district, facilities that are given significance in Florida's theory.

Second, the powerful position of creative worker (B) in South Korea has been another unique quality of the region that differentiated it from theories adopted from the West. Cluster theory (Porter, 1990) was used as a foundational concept for the DMC and was expected to promote knowledge spillover and relationship building through face-to-face, casual interaction within the cluster. However, the theories could not be directly applied to the DMC since creative worker (B) (*Chaebols* and large conglomerates) with their huge powers over the country have not been engaged with smaller companies at the local level. Instead, they have been playing a dominating

and leading role. For instance, the attraction of creative workers to the new district, the increase of urban vitality through diverse activities, and the growth of commercial facilities and amenities, have all been made possible by the construction of MBC, an example of creative worker (B), not by the cultural infrastructure and cultural environment. However, Florida's mechanism of forming a creative cluster first requires a creative/cultural infrastructure, thus attracting the creative class, and subsequently leading to the generation of a creative environment and another influx of creative workers.

*2. How can we respond constructively to the so identified deficiencies of the DMC (how, as a creative urban place, it be improved)?*

This thesis presented two answers to the above question: the need for a context-driven approach, and the enhancement of authenticity by employing arts and culture-based creativity. The necessity of a contextual approach arises from the two research objectives – examining the differences between western and eastern theories and practices of the creative city and creative placemaking, and analysing the South Korean cultural policy context in association with creative placemaking. On the global scale, through the investigation of historical creative accomplishments and the observation of differences in social norms between the West and the East – such as novelty versus utility, language differences, and individualism versus collectivism – I have shown that the approach comparing the creative credentials of the West and the East is no longer accepted, and only cultural dissimilarities

remain salient. However, in spite of the increasing interest in creative city programmes in Asia, the established western theories have remained dominant across the region, and there is a lack of representative Asian intellectual and theoretical presence in the literature. Asian cities have been enthusiastic in developing cultural infrastructures such as facilities and amenities, CCIs, cultural/creative spaces and related organisations, and have also attempted to attract global creative workers by applying creative class theory. There are a small number of case studies regarding creative cities, but they tend to concentrate on policy, and very few studies have examined the phenomenon from the analytical viewpoint of 'policy mobilities' (McCann, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2010; Robinson, 2008).

During the process of adopting western concepts and theories, Asian cities often did not consider the theories' relevance to their own markets. In particular, the application of creative class theory (Florida) is controversial since it does not accommodate the characteristics of Asian culture and the dynamics of Asian urban development. However, in the mainstream studies of the western-centred framework, it is not clear what creativity, Asian cities, and their urban spaces mean to their inhabitants respectively. Lauer (2014) assert that Asia's dramatic economic growth has attracted attention in the global media and academic discourse, yet Asia is still viewed through a western lens.

In the South Korean context, the economic-driven approach and quantitative

expansion of urbanisation has been at the centre of cultural policy around creative city placemaking, and this must be considered as a local particularity. The national focus on economic development led to 'miraculous' growth since the 1960s, as the state worked to recover from Japanese colonisation (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953). South Korea's use of cultural policy for the purpose of economic growth has led to the accelerated expansion of Korean CCIs along with the ongoing cultural phenomenon of the Korean Wave in Asia. The DMC is the fruit of the Korean Wave and swift urbanisation combined with the western-oriented global trend of creative city and placemaking theories and practices. However, the side effects of South Korea's history, such as an excessively hard-working environment, the underestimation of product quality (including urban places) and over-development, have manifested themselves in the establishment and management of the DMC. In addition, the Confucian values embedded in Korean society and working environments are another important factor to be considered in building a creative urban place in South Korea. This thesis has shown that the locality and history of Seoul conflicted with western-oriented theories, obstructing the development of creativity. Therefore, creative placemaking should be established in collaboration with local circumstances by considering history and locality, or by 'using' these factors to be 'creative'. The context of every city includes a unique constellation of historical, economic, political, and cultural dimensions (Pratt, 2004, 2008). The context thus depends not only on national, but on regional and local specificities, and a different type of creativity must be considered for each instance of creative

placemaking.

The second improvement suggested by this thesis for establishing the DMC as a creative urban place is to enhance authenticity by investing in arts/culture-based creativity in a more socially engaged and reflective way. There have been studies in creative city placemaking that highlight diversity, openness and spontaneity (Jacobs, 1961), some arguing for the importance of public life with bars, cafes and 'third places' (Oldenburg, 1989; Florida, 2005), where open to social possibility is a dimension of planning. Further, there has been the tendency of 'pseudo diversity' in central urban areas aiming to build mixed-use of areas but merely filled as commercial facilities in reality. The tendency towards homogenisation in quasi-public spaces, a result of globalisation, has created a need for local uniqueness, distinctiveness and authenticity that can be achieved through community interaction (Carr and Servon, 2009). This leads to an increased significance of artistic creativity and the artistic quality of cultural activities and art spaces (cf. Carr and Servon, 2009).

The positive effects of cultural activities (including festivals and events) have been shown to include the cultivation of community ownership (Murray, 2004), community building (Gibson and Stewart, 2009; Phipps and Slater, 2010), and civic pride (Mueller and Fenton, 1989). These effects organically increase distinctiveness and authenticity through enhanced community expressions and also foster endogenous sustainability. However, there have

been criticisms of the economisation of culture, that large cultural events create a sense of pride (Mueller and Fenton, 1989), that they function as city marketing strategy (Ward, 1998), and work for economic returns (Robinson et al., 2004; Richards and Wilson, 2004; Keller, 1998). In the DMC these positive and negative effects were evident in the diverse cultural/creative activities that focused heavily on Korean popular cultural products, anticipating economic returns from the Korean Wave. In accordance with this double-edged aspect of cultural activities, the importance of their artistic quality has been raised as an issue (Landry, 2000) arguing for a consideration of the intrinsic value of arts and culture.

McCarthy et al. (2004) insist that the intrinsic benefits of art and culture are important on both an individual and a public scale. When individuals share their artistic experiences via reflection and discourse, expressing shared values and community identity through artworks commemorating events relevant to people's experience, social bonds are generated. Vickery (2012) describes the value of public art in two ways: as an art form (a form of contemporary art), and as an interrogation of non-cultural conditions (affecting the socio-urban environment). This thesis is concerned with the latter – non-cultural conditions of culture. To increase the vibrancy of a creative urban place, public art can play a role in developing urban change, not merely as 'artists working in the public realm', but as a distinct sphere of cultural production and action identifying the social and material conditions of change (Vickery, 2012).

The rapid economic growth of South Korea has generated quantitative expansion rather than growth in quality and substance. Jin Joong-kwon, a professor at the Faculty of Cultural Studies at Dong Yang University in Korea, observes in a lecture related to *Media Art: In the Front Line of Art* (2009) that technique without creativity is merely a skill. As Peter Hall (1998) states, the twentieth century was 'the marriage of art and technology', and artistic as well as technological creativity has enjoyed an enhanced reputation in the new knowledge economy. However, the value of art has received attention in South Korea relatively later than in the West. Jin (2009) emphasises the significance of interdisciplinarity, hybridity and the collapsing of boundaries between specialties and genre, arguing that people who have this capability will lead in the twenty-first Century. He asserts that South Korea has been focusing on imitative skill rather than production founded on creativity, and that the country has been a significant consumer of ICT rather than a production power (Jin, 2009). The capability for quantitative growth has come to an end and it is now time to turn towards artistic creativity in production, in the next stage of development for Korea.

The scale of the debate in this thesis is, therefore, extensive and multifaceted even at the local level. To create a strategy for the creative urban place of Seoul, the initial objectives and projected outcomes for this thesis were oversimplified; ultimately, this study presents a new direction for designing the creative milieu rather than stating specific principles. In order



to produce achievable policy strategies and development targets along with a profound understanding of creative urban place in Seoul (and Asia more broadly, where similar cultural values such as Confucianism are shared), there is a need for more case studies at the local level so as to facilitate further assessment of the regional/local aspects of creating urban place in Seoul. With the increasing number of newly built city districts (there are five city districts newly built and under construction in Busan, the second largest city in South Korea) and the regeneration and renovation of existing districts, original research is needed on establishing distinct identities where history does not yet exist, and on placemaking in the built environment of new areas. Preservation can no longer be the answer for all city districts.

To summarise, this thesis has analysed methods of establishing a distinctive and sustainable creative urban place in South Korea at the local level, within the framework of the dominant Western ideals of the creative city movement. The DMC, as a working compromise of various policy discourses of creativity, innovation and design, demonstrates the importance of the arts, culture and creativity to contemporary urban planning as much as economic policy, and shows that the deployment of 'design' only cannot provide for an effective substitute: in these conclusions the research aim has been achieved. The results are evidenced by interviews with people who plan, manage, work and live in the DMC, and through my own immersion into the district by working in the SBA (who manages the DMC district) for over three months, while also exploring and spending time in the district. The DMC example is unique and

original, but with the number of new districts being established in the rapid urbanisation of the world, this thesis will hopefully contribute a framework of critical thinking necessary for understanding the complexity of 'creativity' in its deployment within urban development and planning policies for new major centres of economic competitiveness. I argue that while creativity, art and culture have been instrumentalised within the policy and planning frameworks of the DMC, so often compromising the very creative aims of those policies and plans, I nonetheless support the uses of creativity, arts and culture within policy and planning frameworks for the design of cities and new urban centres (even centres under acute economic pressures to perform and grow in productivity and commerce).

By way of clarification, my *positive* use of the terms 'arts, culture and creativity' throughout this thesis requires further comment [see my initial qualification of my use of the term 'culture' in Chapter One, section 3 [1.3], and also refer to 7.2]. The analytical focus of the thesis is, quite deliberately, the complexity of the concept 'creativity' as mediated by the policy and planning discourses that facilitated the construction of the DMC as an urban place. However, my initial discussions in Chapter Two [2.1] unavoidably involve reference to broader concepts of 'art and culture', and this raises a question of semantics, and a theoretical question concerning my precise use of these terms in my later analysis [particularly Chapter Six and Chapter Seven, where my argument explicitly supports the use of 'arts and culture' in urban design and planning]. In the West, there remains a tendency to define

'art' in terms that highlight certain creative individuals (like artists) and their 'works of art' or creative products (and specific qualities, provoking specific experiences) in part because of the ingrained Western tradition of the 'creative genius' [see section 2.1.1]. This, I contrast, by way of making it relevant to East Asian adaptations of the concept of creativity, to art and culture as a 'social system', where creativity is a process of production (which, in theory, can be applied to all kinds of non-cultural or more technical labour -- like the building of a city). Art, likewise, is not simply a series of objects, but a language of style and aesthetic value. In the DMC, however, I do emphasise the commissioning of art for public space [7.1.2.]. As for the term 'culture', I emphasise its deployment in the design and planning of environments, facilities and spaces -- all of which provide for a greater expression of identity, communication and social interaction outside specific economic contexts (as artistic pursuits, leisure, entertainment or heritage and tradition).

While Richard Florida is my main reference point, one could also cite the many scholars from the Western critical theory tradition (or previous generation, such as German sociologist Georg Simmel, or more recently, Pierre Bourdieu and Niklas Luhmann) that also provide a 'social' understanding of creativity, art and culture. This may involve an attention to values, taste and the ideological work of cultural institutions (from museums to state broadcast media). My particular attention has been invested in the way creativity, art and culture are terms appropriated in design, planning and

urban development discourses -- and also used rhetorically in political discourse, largely as a way of talking about new innovations in economic policy. I appeal to Florida, Landry, and Sasaki, among others, as their emphasis is the social collective -- the workers and production, the policy makers and management, the value of public spaces and the way that production and consumption come together in social life to make exciting places. I have argued in chapters Two, Three and Four, that it was this 'social' dimension of arts, culture and creativity, that allowed Asian economies to appropriate Western concepts, even though those concepts still carry Western associations (which many associate with romanticism -- the new, the profound, the special, of utmost value, and the most outstanding manifestations of the human imagination, and so on). However, these Western terms were deployed in economic contexts, which give these general semantic properties a specific function (where the new, the special, imagination, all became harnessed in the national project of advanced economic competitiveness). This is how, as I point out in Chapter Three [section 3, specifically] that no confusion resulted in 2007 when Seoul city's Mayor Oh appropriated the terms of creativity, arts and culture, for his 'design city' initiative.

My Chapter Six and Chapter Seven (the main analysis chapters) similarly demonstrated how the semantically generic terms creativity, art and culture were appropriated and used in specific ways in policies for urban development, for spaces for new business and for new kinds of worker or

labourer (the 'creative class'). The terms creativity, art and culture are historically and philosophically complex terms, and were therefore only used in the sense in which Seoul's policy and planning discourses were using them.

## References and Bibliography

### Public documents

ACT Government (The Environment and Planning Directorate), (2012). *ACT Planning Strategy: Planning for a sustainable city*. Canberra.

AuthentiCity, (2008). *Creative City Planning Framework A Supporting Document to the Agenda for Prosperity: Prospectus for a Great City*. Toronto.

Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), (2006). *Design Review*. London: CABE.

DCMS (Department for Culture, Media and Sport), (1998). *Creative Industries Mapping Document*.

Kim, Y. (1995). 'Culture and the Arts are a Basis for the Advanced Welfare State', in a speech at the Day of Culture on October 20. (in Korean)

----- (1996). 'Building Welfare State by Culture and the Arts', in a speech at the Day of Culture on October 19, 1996.

----- (1997). 'The Opening of Korea as a Cultural State', in a speech at the Day of Culture on October 20, 1997.

Korea Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI), (1999). *Munhwajigu joseong modelgaebalmit jeongchaekbanghyange gwanhan yeongu [A Study on Development of Cultural District Model and Policy]*. Seoul: KCTI. (in Korean)

Ministry of Culture and Information (MCI), (1973). *First Five-Year Master Plan for Cultural Development*. (in Korean)

----- (1979). *Culture and Communication for 30 years (1948-1978)*.

----- (2002). *Munhwa Sanup Backsuh [Culture industry whitepaper 2002]*. Seoul.

----- (2004). *Munhwa Sanup Backsuh [Cultural industry whitepaper 2004]*. Seoul.

----- (2005). *Cultural Industry White Paper*. Seoul: MCT.

----- (2007). *Munhwa Sanup Backsuh [Cultural industry whitepaper 2007]*. Seoul.

----- (2008). *Seoul 'Culturenomics' Vision and Strategy*.

Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST, former MCT), (2008).  
*Cultural Industry White Paper*. (in Korean)

----- (2011). *Munhwa Sanup Backsuh [Cultural contents industry whitepaper 2011]*. Seoul.

Oh, S. (2006). *First inaugural address, 3 July*. (in Korean)

----- (2007). *New Year's address, 2 January*.

----- (2008). *New Year's address, 2 January*.

----- (2009). *New Year's address, 2 January*.

Seoul Design Headquarters, (2008). *Seoul's Emergence as a City of World-class Design*.

Seoul Metropolitan Government (SMG), (2000). *Sangam New Millennium Town basic plan*. (in Korean)

----- (2006). *4 Year Plan of Administration Management 2006~2010: A Clean and Attractive World City, Seoul*. Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government.

----- (2007). *Performance-oriented budget of Seoul* (. [online] Available at: [http://www.seoul.go.kr/v2007/publicinfo/estimate/potal\\_P01000027\\_01.html](http://www.seoul.go.kr/v2007/publicinfo/estimate/potal_P01000027_01.html) [Accessed 27 Aug. 2013].

----- (2007b). *Mayor Oh visits European cities..* [online] Available at: [http://www.seoul.go.kr/biz/economic/news/newsdata/1240698\\_7377.html](http://www.seoul.go.kr/biz/economic/news/newsdata/1240698_7377.html) [Accessed 8 Aug. 2014].

----- (2008). *Plan for a Creative Cultural City for Seoul*. Economy Focus.

----- (2008b). *Performance-oriented budget of Seoul*. [online] Available at: [http://www.seoul.go.kr/v2007/publicinfo/estimate/potal\\_P01000027\\_00.html](http://www.seoul.go.kr/v2007/publicinfo/estimate/potal_P01000027_00.html) [Accessed 27 Aug. 2013].

----- (2008c). *Mayor Oh visits eight European cities..* [online] Available at: [http://www.seoul.go.kr/seoul/citynews/newsdata/1253391\\_12605.html](http://www.seoul.go.kr/seoul/citynews/newsdata/1253391_12605.html) [Accessed 1 Sep. 2014].

----- (2008d). *Mayor Oh visits Sydney..* [online] Available at: [http://spp.seoul.go.kr/silguk/economy/news/news\\_report.jsp?searchType=ALL&searchWord=%list\\_start\\_date=&branch\\_child\\_id=&pageNum=46&communityKey=B0096&boardId=68&act=;](http://spp.seoul.go.kr/silguk/economy/news/news_report.jsp?searchType=ALL&searchWord=%list_start_date=&branch_child_id=&pageNum=46&communityKey=B0096&boardId=68&act=;) [Accessed 1 Sep. 2014].

----- (2009). *Performance-oriented budget of Seoul*. [online] Available at: [http://www.seoul.go.kr/v2007/publicinfo/estimate/potal\\_P01000027\\_2009.html](http://www.seoul.go.kr/v2007/publicinfo/estimate/potal_P01000027_2009.html) [Accessed 27 Aug. 2013].

----- (2009b). *Mayor Oh visits to Hong Kong and Singapore..* [online] Available at:

[http://spp.seoul.go.kr/main/news/news\\_report.jsp?searchType=ALL&searchWord=&list\\_start\\_date=&list\\_end\\_date=&pageSize=&branch\\_id=&branch\\_child\\_id=&communityKey=B0158&pageNum=1&boardId=3908&act=VIEW](http://spp.seoul.go.kr/main/news/news_report.jsp?searchType=ALL&searchWord=&list_start_date=&list_end_date=&pageSize=&branch_id=&branch_child_id=&communityKey=B0158&pageNum=1&boardId=3908&act=VIEW) [Accessed 1 Sep. 2014].

----- (2010). *Mayor Oh visits Barcelona and Bilbao in Spain..* [online] Available at:  
[http://spp.seoul.go.kr/main/news/news\\_report.jsp?search\\_boardId=5869&act=VIEW&boardId=5869](http://spp.seoul.go.kr/main/news/news_report.jsp?search_boardId=5869&act=VIEW&boardId=5869) [Accessed 1 Sep. 2014].

----- (2014). *Seoulsi, Dongbuka Geumyoohub weehan Jorae jaejung Chujin [SMG, Promoting establishment of regulation for Financial hub of Northeast Asia]*. [online] Available at:  
[http://spp.seoul.go.kr/main/news/news\\_report.jsp?search\\_boardId=21234&act=VIEW&boardId=21234](http://spp.seoul.go.kr/main/news/news_report.jsp?search_boardId=21234&act=VIEW&boardId=21234) [Accessed 6 Sep. 2013].

## Interviews

Ahn, J. (2014). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in May, Nonhyun-dong, Seoul

Anonymous, (2014). *Face to Face interview with a group of local residents*. Conducted in April, 2014, DMC, Seoul

Byeon, C. (2014). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in March, 2014, Neungdong-ro, Seoul

Jung, H. (2011). *Informal interview*. Conducted in September, 2011, DMC, Seoul

Kim, S. (2014b). *Email interview*. Conducted in July, 2014

Kim, H. (2014d). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in April, 2014, Deungchon-dong, Seoul

Kim, D. (2014a). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in April, 2014, Suwon, Gyungi-do

Kim, Y. (2014c). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in March, 2014, Dogok-dong, Seoul

Lee, D. (2014b). *Email interview*. Conducted in March, 2014

Lee, D. (2011b). *Informal interview during the field work period*. Conducted in September, 2011, DMC, Seoul

Park, J. (2014b). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in April, 2014, DMC, Seoul

Park, S. (2014a). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in April., 2014, DMC,



Seoul

Song, J. (2014b). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in April, 2014, Sungsu-dong, Seoul

Song, Y. (2014). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in March, 2014, Sinsadong, Seoul

Yeo, S. (2014). *Email interview*. Conducted in May, 2014, Yeoksam-dong, Seoul

Yu, J. (2014). *Face to Face interview*. Conducted in April, 2014, DMC, Seoul

### Books and articles

Acrofan.com, (2011). *SangamDMC, 2014nyunggaji hangukpan Hollywoodro josung [Forming SangamDMC as a Korean version of Hollywood by 2014]*. [online] Available at: <http://www.acrofan.com/ko-kr/live/news/20110216/00000018> [Accessed 3 Sep. 2014].

Ahn, Y. and Im, B. (2009). A Strategy to Enhance City Competitiveness Utilizing Culturenomics : Focused on the Historic-Cultural City of Gyeongju. *Journal of Cultural Industry Research*, 9(2), pp.5-22.

Alexander, C., Ishikawa, S. and Silverstein, M. (1977). *A pattern language*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Alexander, E. (1997). A Mile or a Millimetre? Measuring the "Planning Theory - Practice Gap". *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 24(1), pp.3-6.

----- (1999). Response to Commentaries: Planning Theory and Practice - Mixing Them or Minding the Gap. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 26(1), pp.1-4.

----- (2010). Introduction: Does Planning Theory Affect Practice, and If So, How?. *Planning Theory*, 9(2), pp.99-107.

Amabile, T., Goldfarb, P. and Brackfield, S. (1990). Social influences on creativity: Evaluation, coaction, and surveillance. *Creativity Research Journal*, 3(1), pp.6-21.

Amin, A. (1994). *Post-Fordism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (1994). *Globalization, institutions, and regional development in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----- (2004). The "Emancipatory" City?. In: L. Lees, ed., *The Emancipatory City? Paradoxes and Possibilities*, 1st ed. London: Sage, pp.231-235.

- Amsden, A. (1989). *Asia's next giant*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Andersson, A. (1981). Structural change and technological development. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 11(3), pp.351-361.
- Andersson, A. and Andersson, D. (2006). *The economics of experiences, the arts and entertainment*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Andersson, D., Andersson, A. and Mellander, C. (2011). *Handbook of creative cities*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Pub.
- Anholt, S. (2006). The Anholt-GMI City Brands Index: How the world sees the world's cities. *Place Branding*, 2, pp.18-31.
- Anon, (2007). 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: [http://www.sfkoreanschool.org/images/\\_Eng\\_.pdf](http://www.sfkoreanschool.org/images/_Eng_.pdf) [Accessed 21 Sep. 2013].
- Anon, (2015). [online] Available at: [http://www.eastwestcenter.org/sites/default/files/private/apb229\\_0.pdf](http://www.eastwestcenter.org/sites/default/files/private/apb229_0.pdf) [Accessed 27 Jul. 2014].
- Antonelli, C. (2000). Collective Knowledge Communication and Innovation: The Evidence of Technological Districts. *Regional Studies*, 34(6), pp.535-547.
- Architecture & Urban Research Institute (Auri), (2008). *Study on Korean Urban Design Paradigm*. Seoul: Architecture & Urban Research Institute. (in Korean)
- Arefi, M. (1999). Non-place and placelessness as narratives of loss: Rethinking the notion of place. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4(2), pp.179-193.
- ArtPlace America, (2012). [online] Available at: <http://www.artplaceamerica.org/vibrancy-indicators/>; [Accessed 2 Aug. 2014].
- ArtPlace America, (2014). *15 Questions to Ask about Creative Placemaking Proposals*. [online] Available at: <http://www.artplaceamerica.org/articles/15-questions-to-ask-about-creative-placemaking-proposals/> [Accessed 4 Jul. 2014].
- Asheim, B. (1995). Industrial districts as 'learning regions': a condition for prosperity?. In: *IGU Commission on Interdependent and uneven development: Global-local perspectives*.
- (2005). *The Urban Turn: From regional clusters to creative cities*.
- (2009). Guest Editorial: Introduction to the Creative Class in European City Regions. *Economic Geography*, 85(4), pp.355-362.

- Asiapacificglobal.com, (2014). *Tag Archive for "creative economy" - Asia-Pacific Global Research*. [online] Available at: <http://asiapacificglobal.com/tag/creative-economy/> [Accessed 18 Jul. 2014].
- Assi, E. (2000). Searching for the Concept of Authenticity: Implementation Guidelines. *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 6(3), pp.60-69.
- Atkinson, R. and Cope, S. (1997). Community participation and regeneration in Britain. In: P. Hoggett, ed., *Contested Communities - experiences, struggles, policies*, 1st ed. The Policy Press.
- Atlee, T. (2005). *A Spectrum of Politics and Governance Grounded in Empowered Citizen Dialogue and Deliberation - Evolving Collective Intelligence*. [online] Newmediaexplorer.org. Available at: [http://www.newmediaexplorer.org/tom\\_atlee/2005/07/04/a\\_spectrum\\_of\\_politics\\_and\\_governance\\_groundedin\\_empowered\\_citizen\\_dialogue\\_and\\_deliberation.htm](http://www.newmediaexplorer.org/tom_atlee/2005/07/04/a_spectrum_of_politics_and_governance_groundedin_empowered_citizen_dialogue_and_deliberation.htm) [Accessed 1 Sep. 2014].
- B ASTIDE, R. (1977). *Sociologie de l' Art*. Payot: Paris.
- Bailey, C., Miles, S. and Stark, P. (2004). Culture-led Urban Regeneration and the Revitalisation of Identities in Newcastle, Gateshead and the NorthEast of England. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(1), pp.47-65.
- Baker, K. (1988). *: Art of Circumstance*. New York: Abbeville Press.
- Barnes, M., Blom, A., Cox, K. and Lessof, C. (2006). *The social exclusion of older people: Evidence from the first wave of the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA)*. Final Report. UK: Social Inclusion Unit Retrieved, p.[http:// www.ifs.org.uk/docs/odpm\\_social\\_exclusion.pdf](http://www.ifs.org.uk/docs/odpm_social_exclusion.pdf).
- Barnett, J. (1974). *Urban design as public policy*. [New York]: Architectural Record Books.
- Bathelt, H. (2005). Cluster Relations in the Media Industry: Exploring the 'Distanced Neighbour' Paradox in Leipzig. *Regional Studies*, 39(1), pp.105-127.
- Baxter, P. and Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), pp.544-559.
- Bayliss, D. (2007). The Rise of the Creative City: Culture and Creativity in Copenhagen. *European Planning Studies*, 15(7), pp.889-903.
- Benevolo, L. (1977). *History of modern architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.
- Bennett, O. (2004). Review essay. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*,

10(2), pp.237-248

- Berg, B. and Lune, H. (2012). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston: Pearson.
- Beyers, W. (2002). Services and the New Economy: elements of a research agenda. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 2(1), pp.1-29.
- Biz.chosun.com, (2014). *Sangam DMC ipju hojaee sangamdong junsegap delsseok [Increasing rental price of Sangam-dong according to a favorable move in]*. [online] Available at: [http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2014/08/19/2014081902761.html](http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2014/08/19/2014081902761.html) [Accessed 29 Jul. 2014].
- Boorstin, D. (1993). *The creators*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Boutang, Y. (2011). *Cognitive capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boyer, W. and An, P. (1991). *Rural development in South Korea*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.
- Briggs, A. (1968). *Victorian cities*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Brown, J. and Mczyski, M. (2009). Complexcities: Locational Choices of Creative Knowledge Workers. *built environ*, 35(2), pp.238-252.
- Byeon, C. (2009). *DMCEi Saeupgujowa baljeonbanghyang [Business Structure and Development Direction of DMC]*. unpublished. (in Korean)
- Byeon, M. (2011). *Sahwetonghapel weehan jiyeockgongdongche yeocrang ganghwa [Enhancing capability of local community for social unification]*. Seoul Institute. (in Korean)
- Camagni, R. (1991). Introduction: from the Local 'Milieu' to Innovation through Cooperation Networks. In: R. Camagni (ed.), ed., *Innovation Networks: Spatial Perspectives*, 1st ed. London: Belhaven Press.
- Canter, D. (1977). *The psychology of place*. London: The Architectural Press.
- Carlino, G. (2001). *Knowledge spillovers: cities' role in the new economy*. Business Review. Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia.
- Carr, J. and Servon, L. (2008). Vernacular Culture and Urban Economic Development: Thinking Outside the (Big) Box. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 75(1), pp.28-40.
- Carrillo, F. (2006). *Knowledge cities*. New York: Elsevier Butterworth Heinemann.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

- Cha, S., Lee, J. and Kim, J. (2014). Characteristics and Limits of Community Facilities in Apartment Housing Complexes - A Case Study of Yeoksam 2-dong, Gangnam-gu, Seoul. *Journal of the Urban Design Institute of Korea*, 15(2). (in Korean)
- Chadwick, G. (1971). *A systems view of planning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Chang, H. (1993). The political economy of industrial policy in Korea. *Cambridge journal of economics*, 17(2), pp.131-157.
- Chang, S. (2006). *Chunggukuihalfyu, ottoke ihae halkotinga [Understanding the 'Korean Wave' in China: Reality and Prospect]*. Seoul: Hakkobang Press. (in Korean)
- Chapman, D. and Larkham, P. (1999). Urban design, urban quality and the quality of life: Reviewing the department of the environment's urban design campaign. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4(2), pp.211-232.
- Chatterton, P. (2000). Will the real Creative City please stand up?. *City*, 4(3), pp.390-397.
- Cheon, H. (2000). Geundaesungei Sangjing, Yeouido [Symbol of Modernisation, Yeouido Island]. *Korea Research for Human Settlements*, 225, pp.77-81.(in Korean)
- Cherry, J. (2005). 'Big Deal' or big disappointment? The continuing evolution of the South Korean developmental state. *The Pacific Review*, 18(3), pp.327-354.
- Chiang, Y. and Hsu, E. (2010). *Taipei mayor promises to improve living environment through design*. [online] The China Post. Available at: <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/local/taipei/2010/02/24/245777/Taipei-mayor.htm> [Accessed 11 Aug. 2013].
- Cho b, U. (2005). Positioning the Korean Wave in the nexus between globalization and localization. *Korea journal*, 40(4), pp.143-146.
- Cho, H. (1994). *1970 nyondae hankook televisioeui goojojeok sungkyoke gwanhan yongu [The study on the structural characteristics of Korean Television in 1970s]*. PhD thesis. Department of Communication Seoul, Seoul National University. (in Korean)
- (2005). Reading the Korean Wave as a Sign of Global Shift. *Korea Journal*, 45(4), pp.147-82.
- Cho, H. and Hwang, S. (2003). *Hatfyu-wa Ashia-ai taejuhng munhwa [The Korean Wave and Asian Popular Culture]*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press. (in Korean)
- Cho, M. (2010). Envisioning Seoul as a World City: The Cultural Politics of the Hong-dae Cultural District. *Asian Studies Review*, 34(3), pp.329-347.

- Choe, H. (2007). *Hallyu dramaui storiteling [The Storytelling of the Korean Wave Dramas]*. Seoul: Taemunsa. (in Korean)
- Ch'oe, J. and Park, J. (2005). *Soul in Seouul =*. Seoul: Tongasia. (in Korean)
- Choi, H. (2012). The Structural and Spatial Characteristics of Network Actors in Mini Cluster for Creative Milieu: The Case of Digital Media City. *Journal of Social Science*, 38(3), pp.123-144.
- Choi, S. (2011). *Hankook moonhwa contents sanup jungchaek damron yongu [Study on the discourses of Korean cultural contents industry]*. Masters Dissertation. Faculty of Cultural Research. Joonang University, Seoul. (in Korean)
- Chu, Y. (2009). Eclipse or reconfigured? South Korea's developmental state and challenges of the global knowledge economy. *Economy and Society*, 38(2), pp.278-303.
- Chu, Y. and Ito, A. (2007). *Ilbon hallyu, Hangukgwa Ilbonesopoda [The Korean Wave in Japan, from the Perspectives of Korea and Japan]*. Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies. (in Korean)
- Chua, B. and Iwabuchi, K. (2008). *East Asian pop culture*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- CNTV, (2014). *ROK cultural & creative industry valued at 86 bln USD in 2013 - CCTV News - CCTV.com English*. [online] Available at: <http://english.cntv.cn/2014/07/03/VIDE1404318963521407.shtml> [Accessed 14 Aug. 2013].
- Coe, A., Paquet, G. and Roy, J. (2001). E-Governance and Smart Communities: A Social Learning Challenge. *Social Science Computer Review*, 19(1), pp.80-93.
- Cohen, D. (2013). Seoul's Digital Media City: A history and 2012 status report on a South Korean digital arts and entertainment ICT cluster. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 17(6), pp.557-572.
- Coldwell, W. (2014). *Park and slide: artist plans to turn Bristol street into a giant waterslide*. [online] the Guardian. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2014/mar/11/artist-plans-bristol-street-giant-waterslide> [Accessed 11 Mar. 2014].
- Comedia, (1991). *Making the Most of Glasgow's Cultural Assets: The Creative City and its Cultural Economy*. Final Report. Glasgow: Glasgow Development Agency.
- Comunian, R. (2010). Rethinking the Creative City: The Role of Complexity, Networks and Interactions in the Urban Creative Economy. *Urban Studies*, 48(6), pp.1157-1179.

- Comunian, R. and Faggian, A. (2011). Higher education and the creative city. In: D. Anderson and C. Mellender, ed., *Handbook on Cities and Creativity*, 1st ed. London and New York: Edward Elgar, pp.187-207.
- Connell, S. (2013). *Building a Creative Economy in South Korea: Analyzing the Plans and Possibilities for New Economic Growth*. [online] Washington, DC: Korea Economic Institute of America (KEI). Available at: [http://keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/kei\\_creative\\_economy.pdf](http://keia.org/sites/default/files/publications/kei_creative_economy.pdf) [Accessed 20 Oct. 2014].
- Cook, I. (2000). *Cultural turns/geographical turns*. Harlow, England: Prentice Hall.
- Cooke, P. and Morgan, K. (1994). The Creative Milieu: a Regional Perspective on Innovation. In: M. Dodgson and R. Rothwell, ed., *The Handbook of Industrial Innovation*, 1st ed. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Cooke, P. and Piccaluga, A. (2006). *Regional development in the knowledge economy*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Cooke, P. and Simmie, J. (2005). Knowledge, Innovation and the Competitiveness of Cities. In: N. Buck, I. Gordon, A. Harding and I. Turok, ed., *Changing Cities: Rethinking Urban Competitiveness, Cohesion and Governance*, 1st ed. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Costa, P., Magalhaes, M., Vasconcelos, B. and Sugahara, G. (2008). On creative cities' governance models: a comparative approach. *The Service Industries Journal*, 28(3), pp.393-413.
- Coupland, A. (1997). *Reclaiming the city*. London: E & FN Spon.
- Cox, G. (2005). *Cox Review of Creativity in Business: Building on the UK's strengths*. London: Design Council.
- Crabtree, B. and Miller, W. (1999). *Doing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Create Hong Kong of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, (2013). *Creative City*.
- Creating Digital Media Street & Ubiquitous Space Planning. (2003). In: *International forum sourcebook*.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1999). Implications of a systems perspectives for the study of creativity. In: R. Sternberg, ed., *Handbook of creativity*, 1st ed. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Cunningham, S. (2006). *What price a creative economy?*. [Strawberry Hills, NSW]: Currency House.

----- (2009). Trojan horse or Rorschach blot? Creative industries discourse around the world. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(4), pp.375-386.

Curley, G. (2010). *Gallery: 'Europe in Seoul' on Garosugil Street*. [online] CNN Travel. Available at: <http://travel.cnn.com/explorations/life/gallery-europe-seoul-garosugil-street-043125> [Accessed 30 Oct. 2013].

Currid-Halkett, E. (2007). *The Warhol economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Curtin, M. (2007). *Playing to the world's biggest audience*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dator, J. and Seo, Y. (2004). Korea as the Wave of a Future: The Emerging Dream Society of Icons and Aesthetic Experience. *Journal of Futures Studies*, 9(1), pp.31-44.

Davidson, M. and Lees, L. (2009). New-build gentrification: its histories, trajectories, and critical geographies. *Population, Space and Place*, p.n/a-n/a.

Dawson, E. and Higgins, M. (2009). How Planning Authorities Can Improve Quality through the Design Review Process: Lessons from Edinburgh. *Journal of Urban Design*, 14(1), pp.101-114.

DEEM, R. (2001). Globalisation, New Managerialism, Academic Capitalism and Entrepreneurialism in Universities: Is the local dimension still important?. *Comparative Education*, 37(1), pp.7-20.

Deng, N. (2005). On the national literature tactics in the globalization language environment. *Journal of Human Institute of Humanities, Science and Technology*, 1, pp.39-41.

Deyo, F. (1987). *The Political economy of the new Asian industrialism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Digital Times, (2000). [online] Available at: [http://www.dt.co.kr/contents.htm?article\\_no=20000815175749002](http://www.dt.co.kr/contents.htm?article_no=20000815175749002) [Accessed 15 Aug. 2013].

DMC Master plan. (2001). 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: [http://dmc.seoul.kr/cop/bbs/selectBoardArticle.do?nttNo=657&menuId=MNU\\_0000000000000118&bbsId=BBSMSTR\\_000000000003](http://dmc.seoul.kr/cop/bbs/selectBoardArticle.do?nttNo=657&menuId=MNU_0000000000000118&bbsId=BBSMSTR_000000000003) [Accessed 24 Aug. 2015].

Dmc.seoul.kr., (n.d.). *Basic Plan~2000*. [online] Available at: [http://dmc.seoul.kr/cntntsService.do?menuId=MNU\\_0000000000000148](http://dmc.seoul.kr/cntntsService.do?menuId=MNU_0000000000000148) [Accessed 16 Oct. 2014].

----- (n.d.b). *Move in Corporation*. [online] Available at:



- [http://dmc.seoul.kr/cntntsService.do?menuId=MNU\\_0000000000000154](http://dmc.seoul.kr/cntntsService.do?menuId=MNU_0000000000000154)  
[Accessed 1 Jan. 2015].
- Dong.junggu.seoul.kr, (n.d.). *Origin and History (Sogong-dong)*. [online]  
Available at: <http://dong.junggu.seoul.kr/dong01/d01040000.php>  
[Accessed 12 Apr. 2014].
- Doopedia.co.kr, (n.d.). *Culturenomics*. [online] Available at:  
[http://www.doopedia.co.kr/doopedia/master/master.do?\\_method=view&MAS\\_IDX=101013000932521](http://www.doopedia.co.kr/doopedia/master/master.do?_method=view&MAS_IDX=101013000932521) [Accessed 6 Nov. 2014].
- Durmaz, S. (2012). *Creative Clusters and Place-Making*. Ph.D thesis.  
Department of Architecture and The Built Environment, University of Nottingham.
- Dutton, W., Blumler, J. and Kraemer, K. (1987). *Wired cities*. [Washington, D.C.]: Washington Program, Annenberg School of Communications.
- Ebook.seoul.go.kr, (n.d.). *About Nanji*. [online] Available at:  
<http://ebook.seoul.go.kr/Viewer/LDXS9B4BYGEM/> [Accessed 9 Nov. 2013].
- Ecos.bok.or.kr, (2013). [online] Available at: <http://ecos.bok.or.kr/EIndex.jsp>  
[Accessed 11 Oct. 2014].
- Eger, J. (1997). *Cyberspace and cyberplace: building the smart communities of tomorrow*. Union-Tribune. San Diego: Insight.
- (2003). *The creative community*. White paper on cities and the future.  
[online] San Diego: San Diego State University. Available at:  
<http://www.smartcommunities.org/creative-1.htm> [Accessed 20 Dec. 2013].
- Elias-Varotsis, S. (2006). Festivals and events: (Re)interpreting cultural identity. *Tourism Review*, 61(2), pp.24-29.
- European Commission, (2005). *Common Actions for Growth and Employment: The Community Lisbon Programme*. European Commission.
- Evans, G. (2001). *Cultural planning, an urban renaissance?*. London: Routledge.
- (2009). From cultural quarters to creative clusters: creative spaces in the new city economy. In: M. Legner, ed., *The sustainability and development of cultural quarters: international perspectives*, 1st ed. Stockholm: Institute of Urban History., pp.32-59.
- Fagerberg, J., Mowery, D. and Nelson, R. (2005). *The Oxford handbook of innovation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Featherstone, M. (1993). Global and Local Cultures. In: J. Bird, ed., *Mapping*

*the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.169-187.

Final report of DMC environment design plan and DMS basic design. (2005). unpublished.

Flew, T. (2010). Toward a Cultural Economic Geography of Creative Industries and Urban Development: Introduction to the Special Issue on Creative Industries and Urban Development. *The Information Society*, 26(2), pp.85-91.

Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

----- (2003). Cities and the Creative Class. *City & Community*, 2(1), pp.3-19.

----- (2005). *The flight of the creative class*. New York: HarperBusiness.

----- (2013). *Cities Are the Fonts of Creativity* - *NYTimes.com*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/09/15/is-creativity-endangered/cities-are-the-fonts-of-creativity> [Accessed 15 Sep. 2014].

Florida, R., Mellander, C. and Stolarick, K. (2008). Inside the black box of regional development--human capital, the creative class and tolerance. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 8(5), pp.615-649.

Forbes, (2008). *Forbes*. [online] Available at: <http://www.forbes.com/> [Accessed 19 Aug. 2013].

----- (2009). *Forbes*. [online] Available at: <http://www.forbes.com/> [Accessed 4 Aug. 2013].

Franke, S. and Verhagen, E. (2005). *Creativity and the city*. Rotterdam: NAI Pub.

Fridberg, T. and Koch-Nielsen, I. (1997). *Cultural Capital of Europe, Copenhagen 96 (Konsekvensanalyse af Kulturby 96)*. Copenhagen: Danish National Institute of Socil Research.

Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust*. New York: Free Press.

Galbraith, J. and Kim, J. (1998). The Legacy of the HCI: An Empirical Analysis of Korean Industrial Policy. *Journal of Economic Development (Seoul)*, 23(1), pp.1-20.

Garcia, B. (2004). Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration in Western European Cities: Lessons from Experience, Prospects for the Future. *Local Economy*, 19(4), pp.312-326.

Garnham, N. (1987). Concepts of culture: Public policy and the cultural industries. *Cultural Studies*, 1(1), pp.23-37.

- (2005). From cultural to creative industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(1), pp.15-29.
- Getz, D. (1994). Residents' attitudes towards tourism. *Tourism Management*, 15(4), pp.247-258.
- Gibson, C. and Stewart, A. (2009). *Reinventing Rural Places; The Extent and Impact of Festivals in Rural and Regional Australia*. Wollongong: University of Wollongong.
- Gibson, C. (n.d.). *Creative economy in regional areas: possibilities, pitfalls and on-going issues*. 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: [https://www.academia.edu/1539746/Creative\\_economy\\_in\\_regional\\_areas\\_possibilities\\_pitfalls\\_and\\_on-going\\_issues](https://www.academia.edu/1539746/Creative_economy_in_regional_areas_possibilities_pitfalls_and_on-going_issues) [Accessed 23 Jul. 2014].
- Girard, L., Baycan, T. and Nijkamp, P. (2012). *Sustainable city and creativity*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Globe-trotter Travel Guidebook-Seoul. (2004). Tokyo: Diamond Big Co., Ltd.
- Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (1996). *Telecommunications and the city*. London: Routledge.
- (2001). *Splintering urbanism*. London: Routledge.
- Greenbaum, T. (2000). *Moderating focus groups*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Haddock, S. (2010). Branding the creative city. In: S. Haddock, ed., *Brand-building: the creative city: a critical look at current concepts and practices*, 1st ed. Firenze university press.
- Haechi Seoul, (n.d.). *Dongbukaa choigoei hanryu, munhwacontents hub josung gyehweck [Plan for building DMC as a hub of Korean Wave and cultural contents in Northeast Asia :Second Stage Recreation Plan]*. (in Korean)
- Haggard, S. (1990). *Pathways from the periphery*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Hall, C. (1992). *Hallmark tourist events*. London: Belhaven.
- Hall, P. (1998). *Cities in civilization*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- (2000). Creative Cities and Economic Development. *Urban Studies*, 37(4), pp.639-649.
- Hamilton, G. (1991). *Business networks and economic development in East and Southeast Asia*. [Hong Kong]: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong.
- Han, H. and Lee, J. (2008). A Study on the KBS TV Drama Winter Sonata

- and its Impact on Korea's Hallyu Tourism Development. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 24(2-3), pp.115-126.
- Han, J. (2013). Apart sunho jogun ilsunwee 'kyoyookhwankyung' [Preferred condition for residence is "educational environment"]. *Asia Business Daily*.
- Hangyeorae, (2011). *Yesulga jjochanaeneun hongdaeap munhwageori*. [online] Available at: [http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society\\_general/464528.html](http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/464528.html) [Accessed 18 Oct. 2013].(in Korean)
- hankyung.com, (2011). '*Media Canvas*' Seoul Square .. 18,19il geodaehan gaeimgiro byeonsin [*'Media Canvas' of Seoul Square.. will be turned into a massive game machine on 18th, 19th*]. [online] Available at: <http://www.hankyung.com/news/app/newsview.php?aid=2011061632031> [Accessed 7 Sep. 2014]. (in korean)
- Hannas, W. (2003). *The writing on the wall*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hannigan, J. (1998). *Fantasy city*. London: Routledge.
- (2003). Symposium on branding, the entertainment economy and urban place building: introduction. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(2), pp.352-60.
- Harrington, D. (1990). The ecology of human creativity: A psychological perspective. In: M. Runco and R. Albert, ed., *Theories of creativity*, 1st ed. Newbury Park, London: Sage Publication, pp.143-169.
- Harris, A. and Moreno, L. (2010). *Creative City Limits: Urban Cultural Economy in a New Era of Austerity*. London: UCL Urban Lab.
- Hartley, J. (2005). *Creative industries*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 71(1), p.3.
- Hashimoto, A. (2004). *Power to the imagination*. Asia Program Special Report. p.121.
- Hayward, R. and McGlynn, S. (1993). *Making better places*. Oxford: Butterworth-Architecture.
- Heinrich, N. (2015). The Pompidou Centre and its public: the limits of a utopian site. In: R. Lumley, ed., *The Museum Time Machine: Putting Cultures on Display*, 1st ed. London and New York: Routledge., pp.199-212.
- Heo, J. (2002). The 'Hanryu' Phenomenon and the Acceptability of Korean

- TV Dramas in China. *Korean Journal of Broadcasting*, 16(1), pp.496-529.
- Hogarth (Kim), H. (1999). *Korean Shamanism and Cultural Nationalism*. Seoul: Jimoondang.
- Hogarth, H. (2013). The Korean Wave: An Asian Reaction to Western-Dominated Globalization\*. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 12(1-2), pp.135-151.
- Hollands, R. (2008). Will the real smart city please stand up?. *City*, 12(3), pp.303-320.
- Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T. (1972). *Dialectic of enlightenment*. [New York]: Herder and Herder.
- Howkins, J. (2002). *The creative economy*. London: Penguin.
- Huang, Y. and Stewart, W. (1996). Rural Tourism Development: Shifting Basis of Community Solidarity. *Journal of Travel Research*, 34(4), pp.26-31.
- Hui, D. (2007). The creative industries and entrepreneurship in East and Southeast Asia. In: C. Henry (ed.), ed., *Entrepreneurship in the creative industries: An International Perspective*, 1st ed. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- Hutton, T. (1998). *The transformation of Canada's Pacific metropolis*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.
- Hwang, Y., Lee, S. and Aeo, S. (2009). Evaluation of Outdoor Community Facility in Rental Apartment For Community Space Activation. *Journal of Korea Institute of Ecological Architecture and Environment*, 9(5), pp.69-76.
- Internetworldstats.com, (2010). *Korea Internet Usage Stats Population and Telecommunications Reports*. [online] Available at: <http://www.internetworldstats.com/asia/kr.htm> [Accessed 18 Oct. 2014].
- Investseoul.com, (n.d.). [image] Available at: <http://investseoul.com/investment-projects/digital-media-city/> [Accessed 11 Aug. 2012].
- Isar, R. (1976). Culture and the arts festival of the twentieth century. *Cultures*, 3, pp.125-145.
- Ishida, T. (2002). Digital city Kyoto. *Communications of the ACM*, 45(7), pp.76-81.
- Jackson, P. and England, (1988). Street life: the politics of Carnival. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 6(2), pp.213-227.
- Jacobs, A. (1989). Urban Design and the Political Realm [The Mayors

- Institute on City Design]. *Places*, [online] 5(4). Available at: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7cr427vq> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2015].
- Jacobs, A. and Appleyard, D. (1987). Toward an Urban Design Manifesto. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 53(1), pp.112-120.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Jacobs, J. (2015). Systems of economic ethics. In: F. Lawrence, ed., *Ethics in Making a Living: The Jane Jacobs Conference, Loneragan Workshop*, 1st ed. Atlanta: GA: Scholars Press, pp.211-286.
- Jason, S. (2012). *Defining Creative Placemaking | NEA*. [online] Arts.gov. Available at: <http://arts.gov/NEARTS/2012v3-arts-and-culture-core/defining-creative-placemaking> [Accessed 2 Jan. 2015].
- Jensen, O. (2005). Branding the Contemporary City - Urban branding as Regional Growth Agenda?. In: *Regional Studies Association Conference*.
- Jensen, R. (2009). Planning for Creative Cities. *Australian Planner*, 46(3), pp.22-31.
- Jin, J. (2009). *Media Art: yesulei choijeonseon [Media Art: In the Front Line of Art]*. Humanist. (in Korean)
- Johnson, C. (1989). South Korean democratization: The role of economic development. *The Pacific Review*, 2(1), pp.1-10.
- Joins.com, (2001). *A Pop Culture Wave Rolls*. [online] Available at: <http://www.joins.com/> [Accessed 23 Jul. 2013].
- Jones, M., Craddock, P. and Barker, N. (1990). *Fake?*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jung, E. (2009). Transnational Korea: a critical assessment of the Korean wave in Asia and the United States. *Southeast review of Asian studies*, 31, pp.69-80.
- Jung, I. (1996). A Study on the Urban Development of Yeouido. *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea Planning & Design*, 12(2), pp.123-133. (in Korean)
- Kang, H. (2010). Planned Development of the "Creative Milieu" and its Sustainability: Experiences from Seoul Digital Media City. *Journal of Seoul Urban Research*, 11(2). (in Korean)
- Kang, N. (2012). The Vacillation of Culture in Neoliberal South Korea. *Working Papers in Korean Studies*, 21.
- Karsten, L. (2003). Family gentrifiers: challenging the city as a place

- simultaneously to build a career and to raise children. *CURS*, 40(12), pp.2573-2584.
- Karsten, L. (2009). From a top-down to a bottom-up urban discourse: (re) constructing the city in a family-inclusive way. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 24(3), pp.317-329.
- Karvounis, A. (2010). *The labour party and the European question, 1961-2000*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Karvounis, A. (2010). Urban creativity: the creative city paradigm. *AthensID*, 8, pp.53-81.
- Kaufman, J. and Sternberg, R. (2006). *The international handbook of creativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keane, M. (2007). *Created in China*. London: Routledge.
- (2009). Creative industries in China: four perspectives on social transformation. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(4), pp.431-443.
- Kee, T. (2008). Influences of Confucianism on Korean Corporate Culture. *Asian Profile Volume*, 36.
- Keller, K. (1998). *Strategic brand management*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Kellner, D. (1992). Popular culture and the constructions of postmodern identities. In: L. Scott and F. Jonathan, ed., *Modernity and Identity*, 1st ed. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kids.hankooki.com, (2014). *Yonghwa 'Star Trek 3' seoulseo chalyeonghanda* [*'Star Trek 3' will be filmed in Seoul*]. [online] Available at: <http://kids.hankooki.com/lpage/news/201409/kd20140930155433125630.htm> [Accessed 30 Sep. 2014].
- Kim, H. (2012b). *SNS ddaemoone dalajineun K-Pop* [*Impact of SNS on K-POP*]. [online] Ohmynews. Available at: [http://star.ohmynews.com/NWS\\_Web/OhmyStar/at\\_pg.aspx?CNTN\\_CD=A0001762409](http://star.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/OhmyStar/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0001762409) [Accessed 11 Aug. 2013].
- Kim, R. (2011b). *Three Gangnam districts show latest fads*. [online] Koreatimes. Available at: <https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/common/printpreview.asp?categoryCode=320&newsIdx=91787> [Accessed 30 Oct. 2013].
- Kim, D. (2012c). *Big firms expand to dining industry*. [online] koreatimes. Available at: [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/biz/2014/03/328\\_125430.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/biz/2014/03/328_125430.html) [Accessed 28 Oct. 2013].

- Kim, B., Kwon, N. and Gil, J. (2010). Analysis of the commercial characteristics about the Samcheongdong-gil gentrification. *Journal of the Korean Regional Economics*, 15, pp.83-102. (in Korean)
- Kim, C. (2009). *Beauty Industry Could Create the Next Korean Wave*. [online] Chosun Ilbo. Available at: [http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2009/10/15/2009101500909.html](http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2009/10/15/2009101500909.html) [Accessed 21 Jul. 2013]. (in Korean)
- Kim, D. (1998). *"The Mutual Development of Korean Culture and Japanese Culture through promoting Cultural Exchang", from his speech at the conference with Japanese artists on the October 10, 1998..*
- Kim, D. (2011). Place Making and Place Curating. In: *City Environment and Public Art symposium*. (in Korean)
- Kim, H. (2001). Yongmang-ui dongsizeong [Coevalness of Desire]. *Hankyoreh* 21. (in Korean)
- Kim, H. (2003). Taeman sokui Hanguk taejung munhwa [Korean Popular Culture in Taiwan]. In: H. Cho and S. Hwang, ed., *HalfyuwaAshiaui taejung munhwa [The Korean Wave and Asian Popular Culture]*, 1st ed. Seoul: Yonsei University Press. (in Korean)
- Kim, H. and Park, G. (2010). Spatial Concentration and Cluster of Cities with Creative Class, Technology, Tolerance in Korea. *Journal of Korea Planning Association*, 45(1)(175), pp.251-264.
- Kim, J. (2008). Yeonggukei gonggongdesign jungcheckgwa sisajeom [Policy and Implication of UK's Public Design]. *The Korea Spatial Planning Review [Gukto]*, 320, pp.108-119. (in Korean)
- Kim, J. (2012). Critical Review of a Creative City Thesis for Korean Urban Cultural Policy: A Focus on the Locational Preference of the Korean Creative Class. *The Journal of Cultural Policy*, 26(1), pp.30-51. (in Korean)
- Kim, M. and Park, Y. (2009). The changing pattern of industrial technology linkage structure of Korea: Did the ICT industry play a role in the 1980s and 1990s?. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 76(5), pp.688-699.
- Kim, T. (2010). *A study on the creative city theories*. Gyeonggi Research Institute. (in Korean)
- Kim, Y. (2009). *The Impact of Urban Creativity on Urban Competitiveness: A comparative study between Korea and Japan*. Master thesis. Ewha Woman's University. (in Korean)
- Kim, Y. and Lee, Y. (2012). The Development and Features of Discussion about Community Design. *Journal of the Korean Institute of Landscape*



*Architecture*, 40(3). (in Korean)

Kim, Y. and Yeo, H. (2009). A study on the Development of City Creativity Index for Urban Regeneration Strategies: Focusing on Seoul and Six Largest Cities. *Journal of Korea Planners Association*, 44(2), pp.71-84.(in Korean)

Kisline, (2012). [online] Available at:  
<https://www.kisline.com/cm/CM0100M00GE00.nice> [Accessed 24 Sep. 2013].

Klepper, S. (2009). Spinoffs: A review and synthesis. *European Management Review*, 6(3), pp.159-171.

Klingmann, A. (2007). *Brandscapes*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Knox, P. and Ozolins, P. (2000). The built environment. In: P. Knox and P. Ozolins, ed., *Design professionals and the built environment*, 1st ed. Wiley, London: Chichester.

Knox, P. and Pinch, S. (2000). *Urban social geography*. Harlow, England: Prentice Hall.

Knudsen, B., Florida, R., Stolarick, K. and Gates, G. (2008). Density and Creativity in U.S. Regions. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 98(2), pp.461-478.

Komninos, N. (2002). *Intelligent cities*. London: Spon Press.

Kong, L. (2009). Beyond Networks and Relations: Towards Rethinking Creative Cluster Theory. In: L. Kong and J. O' Connor, ed., *Creative Economies, Creative Cities: Asian-European Perspectives*, 1st ed. New York: Springer, p.61.

----- (2012). Ambitions of a global city: arts, culture and creative economy in 'Post-Crisis' Singapore. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 18(3), pp.279-294.

Kong, L. and O'CONNOR, J. (2010). Introduction. In: L. KONG and J. O'CONNOR, ed., *Creative Economies, Creative Cities: Asian-European Experiences*, 1st ed. Berlin.: Springer, pp.1-5.

Kong, L. and O'Connor, J. (2009). *Creative economies, creative cities*. Dordrecht [Netherlands]: Springer.

Kong, L., Gibson, C., Khoo, L. and Semple, A. (2006). Knowledges of the creative economy: Towards a relational geography of diffusion and adaptation in Asia. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 47(2), pp.173-194.

Korea Herald (ed.), (2008). *Korean Wave*. Seoul: Jimoondang.(in Korean)

Korea Herald, (ed.), (2008). Whetting US Appetite for Korean TV Dramas. In:

- Korean Wave*, 1st ed. Seoul: Jimoondang, pp.139-153.
- Korea.net: The official website of the Republic of Korea* (KOCIS). (2013). [online] Korea.net. Available at: <http://www.korea.net/Government/Briefing-Room/Press-Releases/view?articleId=2263> [Accessed 28 Nov. 2013].(in Korean)
- koreatimes, (2011). *Mayor Oh faces uphill battle*. [online] Available at: [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2011/08/117\\_92077.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2011/08/117_92077.html) [Accessed 21 Aug. 2013].(in Korean)
- Kostat, (2010). *Statistics Korea*. [online] Available at: <http://kostat.go.kr/portal/english/index.action> [Accessed 19 Aug. 2013].(in Korean)
- Kunihiro, N. (2010). Yokohama's New Urban Policy-Creative City. In: *City Project*.
- Kunzmann, K. (2004). Culture, creativity and spatial planning. *Town Planning Review*, 75(4), pp.383-404.
- Kurup, S. (2012). *Creativeland Asia*. [online] Campaignlive.co.uk. Available at: <http://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/1125959/creativeland-asia> [Accessed 25 Aug. 2015].
- Kwartler, M. (1998). Regulating the good you can't think of. *URBAN DESIGN International*, 3(1-2), pp.13-21.
- Kwon, M. (2009). [online] Available at: [http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2009/10/117\\_54220.html](http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2009/10/117_54220.html) [Accessed 22 Aug. 2013].
- Kwon, S. and Kim, J. (2013). The cultural industry policies of the Korean government and the Korean Wave. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 20(4), pp.422-439.
- Kwon, Y. and Um, W. (2008). Study on Korean Urban Design Paradigm. *AURI*, 2, pp.1-400. (in Korean)
- Laidi, Z. (2007). *The great disruption*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Landry, C. (2000). *The creative city*. London: Earthscan Publications.
- Landry, C. and Bianchini, F. (1995). *The creative city*. London: Demos.
- Landry, C. and Wood, P. (2003). *Harnessing and Exploiting the Power of Culture for Competitive Advantage: A Report by Comedia for the Liverpool City Council and the Core Cities Group*. London: Comedia.
- Landry, C., Greene, L., Matarasso, F. and Bianchini, F. (1996). *The art of regeneration. Urban renewal through cultural activity*. Stroud: Comedia.

- Lankford, S. (1994). Attitudes and Perceptions Toward Tourism and Rural Regional Development. *Journal of Travel Research*, 32(3), pp.35-43.
- Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994). *Economies of signs and space*. London: Sage.
- Lau, S., Hui, A. and Ng, G. (2004). *Creativity*. River Edge, NJ: World Scientific Pub.
- Lauer, J. (2014). Book review: Transforming Asian Cities: Intellectual Impasse, Asianizing Space, and Emerging Translocalities. *Urban Studies*, 51(4), pp.850-854.
- Lauria, M. (2010). Does Planning Theory Affect Practice, and If So, How?. *Planning Theory*, 9(2), pp.156-159.
- Lee, E. (2012). *Constructing a community building model in urban residential areas*. Ph.D thesis. Konkuk University.(in Korean)
- Lee, H. (2014). Branding the design city: cultural policy and creative events in Seoul. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, pp.1-19.
- Lee, H. and Oh, D. (2011). Study on Application Possibility of The Theory of Florida's Creative Class in Korea: The Case of Wage Structure. *Journal of the Korea Real Estate Analysts Association*, 17(3), pp.121-134.(in Korean)
- Lee, J. (2010). *Dasi ddenen garosugil, 'jjinjja sunsu'delei kyungjaengii sijackdweda*. [online] Moneytoday News. Available at: <http://news.mt.co.kr/mtview.php?no=2010120214568135795> [Accessed 29 Oct. 2013].(in Korean)
- Lee, J. and Rethemeyer, R. (2013). Same Differences: Comparing Social Service Policy Networks in the US and Korea. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 15(5), pp.452-474.
- Lee, S. (2003). Seoul Survivor. *Straits Times*. (in Korean)
- Lee, S. (2011). *Gonggong Design Sibumsaup Chujinsiltae mit Daeung Jeonrack[Study on Implementation of Public Design Demonstration Project and Confrontational Strategy]*. KRILA Focus. Korea Research Institute for Local Administration. (in Korean)
- Lee, S. and Han, T. (2000). The demise of 'Korea, Inc.': Paradigm shift in Korea's developmental state. *Journal of contemporary Asia*, 36(3), pp.305-324.
- Lee, Y. and Hwang, E. (2012). Global Urban Frontiers through Policy Transfer? Unpacking Seoul's Creative City Programmes. *Urban Studies*, 49(13), pp.2817-2837.
- Leo, P. and Lee, T. (2004). The 'New' Singapore: mediating culture and creativity. *Continuum*, 18(2), pp.205-218.

- Ley, D. (1996). *The new middle class and the remaking of the central city*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Llewelyn-Davies, (2000). *Urban Design Compendium*. London: Housing Corporation & English Partnerships.
- LPR Global, (n.d.). *US Korea Engineering and Manufacturing Partnerships*. [image] Available at: <http://www.uskoreahotlink.com> [Accessed 22 Nov. 2013].
- Luckman, S., Gibson, C. and Lea, T. (2009). Mosquitoes in the mix: How transferable is creative city thinking?. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 30(1), pp.70-85.
- Lynch, K. (1981). *A theory of good city form*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Madanipour, A. (2011). *Knowledge economy and the city*. London: Routledge.
- Makeham, P. (2005). Performing the City. *Theatre Research International*, 30(2), pp.1-12.
- Malanga, S. (2004). The Curse of Creative Class. *City Journal*. [online] Available at: [http://www.city-journal.org/html/14\\_1\\_the\\_curse.html](http://www.city-journal.org/html/14_1_the_curse.html) [Accessed 13 Jun. 2013].
- Markusen, A. (1996). Sticky Places in Slippery Space: A Typology of Industrial Districts. *Economic Geography*, 72(3), p.293.
- Markusen, A. and Schrock, G. (2006). The Artistic Dividend: Urban Artistic Specialization and Economic Development Implications. *Urban Studies*, 43(9).
- Markusen, A., Wassall, G., DeNatale, D. and Cohen, R. (2008). Defining the Creative Economy: Industry and Occupational Approaches. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 22(1), pp.24-45.
- Marshall, A. (1890). *Principles of economics, by Alfred Marshall,... Vol. I*. Louvain: Macmillan.
- (1922). *Principles of economics*. London: Macmillan and Co.
- Marston, S. (1989). Public rituals and community power: St. Patrick's day parades in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1841â€“1874. *Political Geography Quarterly*, 8(3), pp.255-269.
- Martin, R. and Sunley, P. (2003). Deconstructing clusters: chaotic concept or policy panacea?. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 3(1), pp.5-35.
- MasterCard Worldwide, (2008). *Worldwide Centers of Commerce Index*. 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: [http://www.mastercard.com/us/company/en/insights/pdfs/2008/MCWW\\_](http://www.mastercard.com/us/company/en/insights/pdfs/2008/MCWW_)

WCoC-Report\_2008.pdf [Accessed 1 Sep. 2015].

- Matland, (1995). Synthesizing the Implementation Literature: The Ambiguity-Conflict Model of Policy Implementation. *of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 5, pp.145-174.
- MBC Media, Seoul Business Agency (SBA), (2012). *DMC Culture Open report*. Unpublished. (in Korean)
- McCann, E. (2011). Urban Policy Mobilities and Global Circuits of Knowledge: Toward a Research Agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 101(1), pp.107-130.
- McCANN, E. (2007). Inequality and Politics in the Creative City-Region: Questions of Livability and State Strategy. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31(1), pp.188-196.
- McCann, E. and Ward, K. (2010). Relationality/territoriality: Toward a conceptualization of cities in the world. *Geoforum*, 41(2), pp.175-184.
- McCarthy, K. (2004). *Gifts of the muse*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Research in the Arts.
- McLoughlin, J. (1969). *Urban and regional planning*. New York: Praeger.
- Media.Asia, (2009). Can Hong Kong regain its role as a creative hub?.
- Mehta, V. (2009). Look Closely and You Will See, Listen Carefully and You Will Hear: Urban Design and Social Interaction on Streets. *Journal of Urban Design*, 14(1), pp.29-64.
- Miles, I. (2005). Innovation in services. In: J. Fagerberg, D. Mowery and R. Nelson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Innovation*, 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miles, M. and Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source book*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mok, A. and Morris, M. (2010). Asian-Americans' Creative Styles in Asian and American Situations: Assimilative and Contrastive Responses as a Function of Bicultural Identity Integration. *Management and Organization Review*, 6(3), pp.371-390.
- Mommaas, H. (2009). of Culture and Economy: Mapping the Cultural-Creative Cluster Landscape. In: L. Kong and J. O'Connor, ed., *creative economies, creative cities*, 1st ed. Dordrecht[Netherlands]: Springer.
- Monclus, F. and Guardia i Bassols, M. (2006). *Culture, urbanism and planning*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
- Montgomery, J. (1995). Editorial Urban Vitality and the Culture of Cities. *Planning Practice and Research*, 10(2), pp.101-110.

- (1998). Making a city: Urbanity, vitality and urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3(1), pp.93-116.
- (2003). Cultural Quarters as Mechanisms for Urban Regeneration. Part 1: Conceptualising Cultural Quarters. *Planning Practice and Research*, 18(4), pp.293-306.
- (2008). *The new wealth of cities: City Dynamics and the Fifth Wave*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Moon, C. and Moo, J. (2000). *Economic Crisis and Structural Reforms in South Korea: Assessments and Implications*. Washington, D.C.: The Economic Strategy Institute.
- Morris, M. and Leung, K. (2010). Creativity East and West: Perspectives and Parallels. *Management and Organization Review*, 6(3), pp.313-327.
- Morris, W. and Kaufman, J. (1996). Mixed use development: design to reduce travel and generate employment. In: *European Transport Forum*.
- Moulier Boutang, Y. and Emery, E. (2011). *Cognitive capitalism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Mueller, W. and Fenton, D. (1989). Psychological and community issues. In: G. Syme, B. Shaw, D. Fenton and W. Mueller, ed., *The Planning and Evaluation of Hallmark Events*, 1st ed. Aldershot: Avebury, pp.92-102.
- Mulcahy, K. (2006). Cultural Policy: Definitions and Theoretical Approaches. *The J. of Arts Man., Law, & Soc.*, 35(4), pp.319-330.
- Murillo, D. and Sung, Y. (2013). *Understanding Korean Capitalism: Chaebols and their Corporate Governance*. ESADEgeo POSITION PAPER 33. ESADEgeo-center for global economy and geopolitics.
- Murray, C. (2003). *Human accomplishment*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Murray, M., Greer, J., Houston, D., McKay, S. and Murtagh, B. (2009). Bridging Top Down and Bottom Up: Modelling Community Preferences for a Dispersed Rural Settlement Pattern. *European Planning Studies*, 17(3), pp.441-462.
- Murray, S. (2004). 'Celebrating the story the way it is': cultural studies, corporate media and the contested utility of fandom. *Continuum*, 18(1), pp.7-25.
- Nadarajah, M. and Yamamoto, A. (2007). *Urban crisis*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- National Endowment for the Arts, (2010). *Creative Placemaking*. National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in partnership with the United States Conference of Mayors and American Architectural Foundation.

- Needham, J. (1956). *Science and civilisation in China, Vol.2, History of Scientific Thought*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Needham, J., Robinson, K. and Huang, R. (2004). *Science and civilisation in China Volume 7: The Social Background, Part2, General Conclusions and Reflections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- News.donga.com, (2014). 3200manmyung sichung 'roldecup'...hanguk esports buhwal gidae [Expecting revival of Korean esports]. [online] Available at: <http://news.donga.com/3/all/20140709/65071075/1> [Accessed 14 Jul. 2014]. (in Korean)
- Nisbett, R. (2003). *The geography of thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently...and Why*. New York: Free Press.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980). *Genius loci*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Norimitsu, O. (2005). Roll Over, Godzilla: Korea Rules. *New York Times*.
- Nowell-Smith, G. (1996). *The Oxford history of world cinema*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- O'Connor, J. (2004). 'Special Kind of City Knowledge': Innovative Clusters, Tacit Knowledge and the 'Creative City'. *Media International Australia*, [online] (112), pp.131-149. Available at: <http://eprints.qut.edu.au/43836/2/43836.pdf> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2015].
- O'Connor, J. and Gu, X. (2014). Making creative spaces: China and Australia: An introduction. *City, Culture and Society*, 5(3), pp.111-114.
- Oakley, S. and Rofe, M. (2003). Global space or local place? the Port Adelaide waterfront redevelopment and entrepreneurial urban governance. *Governance*, (23), pp.1-16.
- Oecdbetterlifeindex.org, (2014). *OECD Better Life Index*. [online] Available at: <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/korea/> [Accessed 30 Jul. 2014].
- Oerlemans, L., Meeus, M. and Kenis, P. (2007). Regional Innovation Networks. In: R. Rutten and F. Boekema, ed., *The Learning Region: Foundations, state of the art, future.*, 1st ed. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp.160-183.
- Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The great good place*. New York: Paragon House.
- Otmazgin, N. (2011). A Tail that Wags the Dog? Cultural Industry and Cultural Policy in Japan and South Korea. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 13(3), pp.307-325.
- Painter, J. (2015). Entrepreneurs are made, not born: learning and urban regimes in the production of entrepreneurial cities. In: T. Hall and T. Hubbard, ed., *The entrepreneurial city: geographies of politics, regimes*

- and representation.*, 1st ed. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, pp.259-274.
- Pang, E. (2000). The Financial Crisis of 1997~98 and the End of the Asian Developmental State. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 22(3), pp.570-593.
- Pardy, M. (2009). Multicultural Incarnations: Race, Class, and Urban Renewal. In: *The Future of Sociology: Annual Conference of The Australian Sociological Association*.
- Park, G. (2001). Suchul seonggong-haneun hangukjeok gamdong [Success of the Export and the Korean Sensibilities]. *Munhwa Ilbo*.
- Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. 2nd ed. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- PECK, J. (2005). Struggling with the Creative Class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), pp.740-770.
- Phipps, P. and Slater, L. (2010). *Indigenous Cultural Festivals: Evaluating Impact on Community Health and Wellbeing*. A report to the Telstra Foundation on research on Indigenous festivals 2007-2010. Melbourne: Globalism Research Centre.
- Pirie, I. (2008). *The Korean developmental state*. London: Routledge.
- Pissourios, I. (2014). Top-Down and Bottom-Up Urban and Regional Planning: Towards a Framework for The Use of Planning Standards. *European Spatial Research and Policy*, 21(1).
- Porter, M. (1990). *The competitive advantage of nations*. New York: Free Press.
- Porter, M. (1998). *On competition*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Pub.
- Pratt, A. (2005). Cultural industries and public policy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(1), pp.31-44.
- (2008). Creative cities: The Cultural Industries and the Creative Class. *Geografiska Annaler B*, 90(2), pp.107-117.
- (2012). The cultural and creative industries: organisational and spatial challenges to their governance. *Die Erde*, 143(4), pp.317-334.
- Project for Public Spaces (PPS), (n.d.). *What is Placemaking? - Project for Public Spaces*. [online] Available at: [http://www.pps.org/reference/what\\_is\\_placemaking/](http://www.pps.org/reference/what_is_placemaking/) [Accessed 23 Sep. 2013].
- Pumhiran, N. (2005). Reflection on the Disposition of Creative Milieu and its Implications for Cultural Clustering Strategies. In: *41st ISoCaRP*



Congress.

Punter, J. (1991). Participation in the design of urban space. *Landscape Design*, 200, pp.24-27.

Punter, J. and Carmona, M. (1997). *The Design Dimension of Planning: Theory, content and best practice for design policies*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Pyke, F., Becattini, G. and Sengenberger, W. (1990). *Industrial districts and inter-firm co-operation in Italy*. Geneva: International Institute for Labour Studies.

Rah, D., Park, E., Oh, M. and Woo, Y. (2008). Changjodosiwe Wewewa Sarae. *Urban Information Service*, 8(317), pp.3-18.

Rapoport, A. (1977). *Human aspects of urban form*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Reason, M. and Garcia, B. (2007). Approaches to the newspaper archive: content analysis and press coverage of Glasgow's Year of Culture. *Media, Culture & Society*, 29(2), pp.304-331.

Reis, A. and Kageyama (Org.), P. (2009). PREFACE - THE CREATIVE CITY: THE STORY OF A CONCEPT. In: C. Landry, ed., *CREATIVE CITY PERSPECTIVES*, 1st ed. São Paulo: Garimpo de Soluções & Creative Cities Productions.

Relph, E. (1976). *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion.

Republic of Korea, (2010). *Korea.net : The official website of the Republic of Korea*. [online] Available at: <http://www.korea.net/Government/Briefing-Room/Press-Releases/view?articleId=1302> [Accessed 23 Aug. 2013]. (in Korean)

Richards, G. (2000). The European cultural capital event: Strategic weapon in the cultural arms race?. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 6(2), pp.159-181.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. (2004). The impact of cultural events on city image: Rotterdam, cultural capital of Europe 2001. *Urban Studies*, 41(10), pp.1931-1951.

Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-space and Homogeneity-heterogeneity. In: M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Modernities*, 1st ed. London: Sage, pp.25-44.

Robinson, J. (2008). Developing ordinary cities: city visioning processes in Durban and Johannesburg. *Environ. Plann. A*, 40(1), pp.74-87.

Robinson, M., Picard, D. and Long, P. (2004). Introduction: Festival Tourism: Producing, Translating, and Consuming Expressions of Culture(s). *Event Management*, 8(4), pp.187-189.

- Rohan, Z. (2013). *Hidden citizens of Korea: Uncovering the LGBT community in South Korea*. [online] NUAsian magazine (APAC). Available at: <http://nuasian.wordpress.com/2013/12/24/hidden-citizens-of-korea-uncovering-the-lgbt-community-in-south-korea/> [Accessed 24 Dec. 2013].
- Ross, A. (2009). *Fast boat to China: High tech Outsourcing and the Consequences of Free Trade: Lessons from Shanghai*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Rubertone, P. (2008). *Archaeologies of placemaking*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press.
- Ryoo, W. (2008). The political economy of the global mediascape: the case of the South Korean film industry. *Media, culture and society*, 30(6), pp.873-889.
- Sabatier, P. (1986). Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches to Implementation Research: a Critical Analysis and Suggested Synthesis. *J. Pub. Pol.*, 6(01), p.21.
- Salah Ouf, A. (2001). Authenticity and the Sense of Place in Urban Design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 6(1), pp.73-86.
- Sasaki, M. (2001). *Sozo toshi eno chosen (The challenge for the creative city)*. Tokyo (translated into Korean in 2004): Iwanamishoten.
- (2003). Kanazawa: A Creative and Sustainable City. *Policy Science (Ritsumeikan University)*, 10(2), pp.17-30.
- (2010). Urban regeneration through cultural creativity and social inclusion: Rethinking creative city theory through a Japanese case study. *Cities*, 27, pp.S3-S9.
- Sassen, S. (2000). *Cities in a world economy*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.
- Satterthwaite, D. (1999). *The Earthscan reader in sustainable cities*. London: Earthscan.
- Sayer, A. (1989). Postfordism in question. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 13(4), pp.666-695.
- SBS NEWS, (2008). *[Seoul] Dongdaemoonwoondongjangeseo Joseonsidae Youmul Balgyeon [Discovery of a relic of the Joseon Dynasty period at the DDP]*. [online] Available at: [http://w3.sbs.co.kr/news/newsEndPage.do?news\\_id=N1000418502](http://w3.sbs.co.kr/news/newsEndPage.do?news_id=N1000418502) [Accessed 17 Jul. 2013]. (in Korean)
- Sbscnbc, (2014). *SBS CNBC : Sangam DMC, yuryungmaeuleseo chumdandosiro 'hwangoltalae' [Sangam DMC, from Ghost Town to*

*High-tech City*. [online] Available at:  
<http://sbscnbc.sbs.co.kr/read.jsp?pmArticleId=10000675023> [Accessed  
29 Jul. 2014]. (in Korean)

Scott, A. (2000). *The cultural economy of cities*. London: SAGE Publications.

----- (2006). CREATIVE CITIES: CONCEPTUAL ISSUES AND POLICY  
QUESTIONS. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(1), pp.1-17.

----- (2008). *Social economy of the metropolis*. Oxford: Oxford University  
Press.

----- (2011). Emerging cities of the third wave. *City*, 15(3-4), pp.289-321.

----- (2012). *A world in emergence*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

----- (2014). Beyond the Creative City: Cognitive-Cultural Capitalism and the  
New Urbanism. *Regional Studies*, 48(4), pp.565-578.

Seoul Digital Media City. (n.d.). [image] Available at:  
[http://dmc.seoul.kr/cntntsService.do?menuId=MNU\\_0000000000000048](http://dmc.seoul.kr/cntntsService.do?menuId=MNU_0000000000000048)  
[Accessed 10 May 2015].

Seoul Economy Daily, (2010). *Seoul city's debt*. [online] Available at:  
<http://economy.hankooki.com/lpage/society/201007/e2010071916315693840.htm> [Accessed 19 Jul. 2013]. (in  
Korean)

Seoul Institute (former Seoul Development Institute) (2000). *Place Marketing  
of World Cup Strategic Area: Case Study of Hongdae Area*.

----- (2002). *DMC Implementation Strategies*. unpublished. (in Korean)

----- (2008). *Changeuimunhwa Sudoreul wehan Seoulsieui 7dae Gwajae (7  
Tasks of Seoul for making Creative Cultural City)*. Seoul. (in Korean)

----- (2008b). *A study on the strategy of urban design of Seoul*. (in Korean)

Seoul design, (n.d.). *Seoul Design Foundation*. [online] Available at:  
[http://www.seoul-design.or.kr/eng/program/city\\_gallery\\_biz.jsp](http://www.seoul-design.or.kr/eng/program/city_gallery_biz.jsp) [Accessed  
11 Aug. 2013].

Sharpley, R. and Stone, P. (2009). *The darker side of travel*. Bristol, UK:  
Channel View Publications.

Shim, D. (2006). Hybridity and the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia.  
*Media, Culture and Society*, 28(1), pp.25-44.

Shim, D. (2011). Korean Wave in Southeast Asia. *Kyoto Review of  
Southeast Asia*, 11.

Shin, H. (1996). Rokmunhwawa eolteu undong. *Munhwa gwahak*, (9),

pp.175-80. (in Korean)

- Shin, H. and Kim, S. (2015). The developmental state, speculative urbanisation and the politics of displacement in gentrifying Seoul. *Urban Studies*.
- Shin, S. (2006). Where and How is Creativity located?: An Empirical study on High 3T ratio Cities in the U.S. and Distribution of Creative Class in Korea. *Journal of Space and Sociology*, (25), pp.80-98.
- Shin, S. (2014). *Gaeul eumak festival, chi-mac carnival deng dayanghan hyungtae byeonhwa [Various changes of Autumn Music Festival]*. [online] Cnbnews.com. Available at: <http://www.cnbnews.com/news/article.html?no=265260> [Accessed 9 Sep. 2014]. (in Korean)
- Shin, S. (2015). Where and How is Creativity located?: An Empirical study on High 3T ratio Cities in the U.S. and Distribution of Creative Class in Korea. *Gonggangwa Sahwae [Space and Society]*, (25), pp.80-98. (in Korean)
- Shortell, T. and Brown, E. (2014). *Walking in the European city*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Shorthose, J. (2004). The engineered and the vernacular in cultural quarter development. *Capital & Class*, 28(3), pp.159-178.
- Silberberg, S., Katie, L., Rebecca, D. and Anna, M. (2013). *Places in the Making: How placemaking builds places and communities*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Simonton, D. (1998). Achieved eminence in minority and majority cultures: Convergence versus divergence in the assessments of 294 African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(3), pp.804-817.
- Simonton, D. and Ting, S. (2010). Creativity in Eastern and Western Civilizations: The Lessons of Historiometry. *Management and Organization Review*, 6(3), pp.329-350.
- Sisafocus.co.kr, (2015). *Weegiei SangamDMC landmark, Jengjumeun '100cheung?' [Critical situation of Sangam DMC landmark, '100th' floor or not?]*. [online] Available at: <http://www.sisafocus.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=115049> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2015]. (in Korean)
- Slaughter, S. and Rhoades, G. (2004). *Academic capitalism and the new economy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Smart Growth Network, (2007). [online] Available at: <http://http://www.smartgrowth.org> [Accessed 15 Feb. 2014].

- SMG (Seoul Metropolitan Government) WorldCupParks office internal data, (n.d.). (in Korean)
- Smit, A. (2011). The Influence of District Visual Quality on Location Decisions of Creative Entrepreneurs. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 77(2), pp.167-184.
- Smith, N. (1996). *The new urban frontier*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, S. (1993). Bounding the Borders: Claiming Space and Making Place in Rural Scotland. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 18(3), p.291.
- Sohn, N. (2008). *Real Estate Class Society*. Seoul: Humanitas (in Korean).
- Ssamzie Space, (2000). *Ssamji ateubuk 9*. Seoul. (in Korean)
- Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Sternberg, R. (2009). *Cognitive Psychology*. 5th ed. Australia ; Belmont, CA: CENGAGE Learning/Wadsworth.
- Storper, M. (1997). *The regional world*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Straits Times a, (2002). Taiwan women hanker after Korean looks. Straits Times.
- Straits Times b, (2002). China girls seek surgery to look like Korean stars.
- Suh, J. (2011). *The South Korean Transition To A Knowledge Economy As A Case Study*.
- Sussman, J. (2013). Art in Public Spaces. *National Civic Review*, 102(2), pp.46-47.
- Sutter, J. (2010). *Why Internet connections are fastest in South Korea - CNN.com*. [online] Edition.cnn.com. Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/TECH/03/31/broadband.south.korea/> [Accessed 1 Sep. 2014].
- Tallon, A. (2010). *Urban regeneration in the UK*. London: Routledge.
- Tashakkori, A. and Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- The Media Valley Corporation, Accenture, Hillwood Strategic Services, (2001). *DMC Report*. unpublished. (in Korean)
- The Official Blog of MBC, (2014). *Yonghwa 'Avengers2' jejacjindo banhan MBC sangamsinsaokei yesuljackpum [The art works of MBC that Avengers 2 staffs are attracted for]*. [online] Available at:

- <http://blog.mbc.co.kr/492> [Accessed 12 Mar. 2014]. (in Korean)
- The Official Website of SMG, (2014). *4.Digital City Urban Center DMC* -. [online] Available at: <http://english.seoul.go.kr/policy-information/economy/attract-investment/4-digital-city-urban-center-dmc/> [Accessed 19 Feb. 2015]. (in Korean)
- Thescoop, (2014). *Dongdaemoondesignplazaeil Ggumgwa Hyunsil [The gap between dream and reality of DDP]*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thescoop.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=12973> [Accessed 11 Oct. 2014].
- Thorns, D. (2002). *The transformation of cities*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave.
- Throsby, C. (2001). *Economics and culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tibbalds, F. (2001). *Making people-friendly towns*. London: Spon Press.
- Tomlinson, J. (1999). Globalization and Culture. In: J. Tomlinson, ed., *cultural globalization and cultural imperialism*, 1st ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Torrnqvist, G. (1983). Creativity and the renewal of regional life. In: A. Buttmer (ed.), ed., *Creativity and context*, 1st ed. Lund: Gleerup.
- UNDP, (2014). *Human Development Reports | United Nations Development Programme*. [online] Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/en> [Accessed 3 Mar. 2015].
- United Nations, (2014). *World Urbanization Prospects*. [online] United Nations. Available at: <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Highlights/WUP2014-Highlights.pdf> [Accessed 20 Mar. 2014].
- Van der Meer, A. and Van Winden, W. (2003). E-governance in Cities: A Comparison of Urban Information and Communication Technology Policies. *Regional Studies*, 37(4), pp.407-419.
- Van Evera, S. (1997). *Guide to methods for students of political science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Verschuren, P. (2003). Case study as a research strategy: Some ambiguities and opportunities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 6(2), pp.121-139.
- Vickery, J. (2011). *Beyond the Creative City - cultural policy in an age of scarcity*.
- (2012). *Public Art and the Art of the Public -- After the Creative City*. [online] IXIA Public Art Think Tank. Available at: <http://www.publicartonline.org.uk/whatsnew/news/article.php/Public+Art>

- +and+the+Art+of+the+Public+---+After+the+Creative+City [Accessed 1 Sep. 2015].
- visitkorea, (n.d.). *Hongdae (Hongik University Street) | Official Korea Tourism Organization*. [online] Available at: [http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI\\_EN\\_3\\_1\\_1\\_1.jsp?cid=1326972](http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=1326972) [Accessed 14 Oct. 2014]. (in Korean)
- Visitseoul, (2012). *Visit Seoul - Gallery Yeh: Forerunner of the Gangnam Art Scene*. [online] Available at: [http://www.visitseoul.net/en/article/article.do?\\_method=view&art\\_id=214&lang=en&m=0004003002006&p=03](http://www.visitseoul.net/en/article/article.do?_method=view&art_id=214&lang=en&m=0004003002006&p=03) [Accessed 19 Oct. 2013]. (in Korean)
- Visser, D. (2002). *What Hip Asians Want: A Little Bit of Seoul; From Films to Fashion, Korean Pop Culture Becomes Kim Chic across Continent*. [online] Seattlepi. Available at: <http://www.seattlepi.com/national/article/Pacific-Currents-Kim-chic-they-call-it-as-1079202.php> [Accessed 20 Aug. 2013].
- Wansborough, M. and Mageean, A. (2000). The Role of Urban Design in Cultural Regeneration. *Journal of Urban Design*, 5(2), pp.181-197.
- Ward, S. (1998). *Selling places*. London: E & FN Spon.
- Weber, A. (1965). *Theory of the location of industries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Williams, R. (1958). *Culture and society, 1780-1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Williams, R. (1961). *The long revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wikitree.co.kr, (2015). *KOCCA CHARACTER AWARDS*. [online] Available at: [http://www.wikitree.co.kr/main/news\\_view.php?id=215499](http://www.wikitree.co.kr/main/news_view.php?id=215499) [Accessed 3 May 2015].
- Wojan, T., Lambert, D. and McGranahan, D. (2007). Emoting with their feet: Bohemian attraction to creative milieu. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 7(6), pp.711-736.
- Won, D. (2011). A Study on Relation of Creative City and Urban Culture. *Human Contents of Association*, 9(22), pp.9-32.
- Won, J. (2011). *Creative City: Strategies and Experiences (Korean)*. Seoul, South Korea: Neoprintech. (in Korean)
- Won, Y. and Kim, S. (2011). A study on the Factors of Creative Class,

- Infrastructure, Tolerance Affecting the Growth of Creative Industry in Metropolitan Area. *Seoul Urban Research*, 12(4), pp.175-190. (in Korean)
- Wood, E. (1997). Modernity, postmodernity or capitalism?. *Review of International Political Economy*, 4(3), pp.539-560.
- Wood, P. and Landry, C. (2008). *The intercultural city*. London: Earthscan.
- World Economic Forum, (2014). *The Competitiveness of Cities*. [online] Geneva. Available at: [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GAC/2014/WEF\\_GAC\\_CompetitivenessOfCities\\_Report\\_2014.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GAC/2014/WEF_GAC_CompetitivenessOfCities_Report_2014.pdf) [Accessed 28 Jun. 2013].
- Worldbank, (2006). *GDP per capita (current US\$) | Data | Table*. [online] Available at: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD> [Accessed 24 Aug. 2013].
- Wu, W. (2005). Dynamic cities and creative clusters. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (3509).
- Yang, D. (2006). *Waterfronts: Spatial composition and cultural use*. Ph.D thesis. The Bartlett School of Planning, University College London.
- Yeongnam.com, (2015). 'Soeum gongghae'eseo baewunen baereo [Lessons from Noise Pollution]. [online] Available at: <http://www.yeongnam.com/mnews/newsview.do?mode=newsView&newkey=20150202.010180751050001> [Accessed 2 Mar. 2015]. (in Korean)
- Yim, H. (2002). Cultural identity and cultural policy in South Korea. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 8(1), pp.37-48.
- Yin, K. and Liew, K. (2005). Hallyu in Singapore: Korean Cosmopolitanism or the Consumption of Chineseness?. *Korea Journal*, Winter, pp.206-32.
- Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Yongapulee. (2004). *Planning and Policy (Wolgangukto in Korean)*, (10).
- Yonhapnews, (2011). (EDITORIAL from the Korea Herald on Oct. 5) [online] Available at: [http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/n\\_editorials/2011/10/05/52/5500000000AEN20111005000400320F.HTML](http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/n_editorials/2011/10/05/52/5500000000AEN20111005000400320F.HTML) [Accessed 5 Oct. 2011]. (in Korean)
- (2013). *S. Korea aims for 17 mln inbound tourists by 2017*. [online] Available at: <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/news/2013/01/15/62/0200000000AEN20130115007400320F.HTML> [Accessed 20 Aug. 2013]. (in Korean)
- Yusuf, S. and Nabeshima, K. (2006). *Postindustrial East Asian cities*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Economics and Finance.



Zhong, S. (2011). By nature or by nurture: the formation of new economy spaces in Shanghai. *Asian Geographer*, 28(1), pp.33-49.

Zhou, J. and Su, Y. (2010). A Missing Piece of the Puzzle: The Organizational Context in Cultural Patterns of Creativity. *Management and Organization Review*, 6(3), pp.391-413.

Zimmerman, J. (2008). From brew town to cool town: Neoliberalism and the creative city development strategy in Milwaukee. *Cities*, 25(4), pp.230-242.

Zukin, S. (1988). *Loft living*. London: Radius.

Zukin, S. (1991). *Landscapes of power*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Zukin, S. (1995). *The cultures of cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.